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## “FEIGNED LIVES.”

WHAT is meant by Feigned Histories? How is it known that such histories exist? These questions have been so frequently asked and answered, that it seems time to discuss them in print, so as to elicit further information, or at least to encourage inquiry.

Francis Bacon divides all Human Learning into History, Poesy, and Philosophy, with reference to the three Intellectual Faculties—Memory, Imagination, and Reason—and he devotes twelve out of thirteen chapters in the Second Book of his *Advancement of Learning* to an investigation into the serious deficiencies which he finds in the first of these divisions. But when he comes to the second principal part of learning, namely *Poesy*, he divides it “besides those divisions which it has in common with History (*for there are feigned Chronicles, feigned Lives, and feigned Relations*)” into *Poesy Narrative, Dramatic and Parabolical*. “Under the name of Poesy,” he says, “I treat only of *feigned History*.”

These, and other remarks of the same kind, seem framed ambiguously in order to lead an observant initiate to look for *feigned Lives* and *feigned Relations* amongst the Histories which, poured out in the time of Bacon, supplying the “deficiencies” and supplementing the imperfections which he found in Histories Civil, Ecclesiastical and Literary—in Memorials, Commentaries, Registers, Annals, Chronologies, Antiquities, Collections, Chronicles and Lives. It was as though some magician had charmed the air to give a sound, and at once the whole world rang out in harmonious chorus.

In order to perceive or understand the “Feigned Histories” we must be truly acquainted with the Character, Pursuits, and Aims of their Subject, the first cause of their being—Francis St. Alban, better known as Bacon. We must know him as his friends and contemporaries knew him, face to face; not taking our impressions from pictures distorted for a purpose, and so handed on from one to another unsympathetic or hostile writer. How would we be treated in his place?

How do we study the memory of any other personage of whom we would learn true particulars? Let us study our present great subject in the same way. Of Francis St. Alban alone in the whole circle of distinguished men can it be shown that the literary world has combined deliberately to suppress or reject the evidence of his friends, collaborators, associates, and contemporaries, and to substitute disparaging or condemnatory accounts, unsupported by records of his own time. This effect is not without its cause, but the present business is to furnish such a thread that the reader who will patiently unwind and follow it up may himself penetrate into the very heart of this mysterious labyrinth.

The contemporary authorities from whose writings we have unravelled these particulars of the life of "Our Francis" were, first, his personal friends, secretaries or amanuenses, and familiar associates, as for instance, Dr. William Rawley, his chaplain; Dr. Peter Boener, his domestic physician; Dr. Tenison, Sir Toby Matthew, and Ben Jonson. Next, a host of correspondents who speak of him in letters to himself and to Anthony Bacon, as well as in mutual communications. To these may be added the writers of some thirty Latin Eulogies\* found amongst Dr. Rawley's MSS., and printed in the Harleian Miscellanies. Lastly, men like Aubrey, who "though he never saw Bacon in the flesh, had peculiar means of arriving at the truth at first hand from his most intimate circle; for he associated with those who had been Bacon's secretaries and friends, and his anecdotes and impressions were derived from the lips of Sir John Danvers and Thomas Hobbes."† With the "Fictitious Biographies and Caricatures" of our wonderful concealed man, which Hepworth Dixon describes and satirises we have nothing to do. All that is false in them came through Goodman, d'Ewes, Welden, and two Lives of Pope, foisted (there is reason to think) into the *Essay of Man* for a very special purpose.

The private life of Francis St. Alban is much veiled, and the cause is clear. Had his aims and work been made public, their very publication and revelation would have prevented their accomplishment; his wide and lofty schemes for the benefit of the Future Ages would have been frustrated. Herein lies an explanation of his self-suppression and submissive rather than defensive attitude, even when the most

\* Published *Baconiana*, July, 1896, Vol. iv. pp. 109—132; October, 1896, pp. 173—188; January, 1897, Vol. v. pp. 10—22, 103—109.

† Hepworth Dixon, "*Story of Lord Bacon's Life*," p. 1.



malicious and condemnatory charges were levelled against him. They would have been vigorously repudiated and summarily dismissed had it not been for the self-imposed obligations to secrecy regarding himself and his works, which were part of his "Method" for the preservation of his infancy Society and the prosecution of his vast enterprises.

But to pass to his Character as pictured for us by his friends. It gives but a cold and meagre image of that "Large Heart," "Myriad Mind," and "Great and Noble Soul," to schedule their component parts, setting them down as it were in an inventory; yet for brevity's sake this seems best, and in the present Paper the examples given are abridged and dessicated to the utmost. But readers should not rest satisfied without making personal inquiries and comparisons. It will be observed that particulars which could by no means be made to fit *Cowley*, such as *Bacon's* distinction as a Lawyer and Orator in the Houses of Parliament have been omitted. It is also necessary to exclude the references to persons, places, etc., which further connect "*Cowley*" with "*Bacon*."

1. The childhood of Francis seems to be studiously veiled; yet we glean that "his first and childish years were not without some mark of eminency." He had a precocity, "*a pregnancy or towardness of wit*, presaging the deep and universal apprehension which he afterwards manifested."

2. *His witty sayings and prompt repartees* are recorded to have greatly "taken the Queen, who delighted to prove him with questions which he answered with a maturity above his years." Genial and original, he "mingled jest with earnest," and "was the most prodigious wit."

3. His genius was "*versatile*," he had "a brain cut with facets" and "a nimbleness of mind prompt to perceive Analogies." Beaumont said that he lent a charm to "the greatest as well as the meanest of matters."

4. His *memory* was extraordinary strong and ready.

5. Having been sent at fifteen to Trinity College, Cambridge, "he quickly passed through the whole circle of the liberal arts,"\* exhausted the teaching and complained of the *barrenness of the method*, "for the production of works for the benefit of the Life of Man."

6. He found, too, that the grammar rules were unsatisfactory; that they taught "words not matter," and he therefore "made a grammar for himself." His view was to

\* i.e.—"The whole Chain of Sciences linked together."

make a noble model of modern English by the help of the beauties of Ancient and Foreign Languages.

7. At this time he appears to have made Translations of the chief Authors of Greece and Rome, because although perfectly familiar with both languages, he could not "*exercise his judgment*" upon writings not in his mother-tongue.

8. His excellent *judgment* caused him to be compared to Solomon: he always seems to hit the mark. In after life it is recorded of him that "his decrees stand firme; there are fewer of his decrees reverst than of any other Chancellor." "His opinions and assertions were for the most part binding and not contradicted by any; rather like Oracles and discourses, which must be imputed to the well-weighing of his sentences by the scales of Truth and Reason."

9. "He was no plodder upon books. Though a great reader he had not his knowledge from books, but from some grounds and notions within himself." "Constant ideas," "fixed notions," formed in childhood, and which caused Dr. Rawley to write: "I have been induced to think that if there were a beam of knowledge derived from God upon any man in these modern times, it was upon him." He was spoken of as a "*Miracle*," "*Prodigious*," "*a Monster*," "*a Giant*," etc.

10. Withal, his *modesty*, *bashfulness*, *respectful submissiveness* and *sweetness in manner* are repeatedly commented upon. He regrets his bashfulness as a hindrance to him in his enforced life as a Courtier. He finds that this shyness is sometimes taken for pride and apologises for it to Lord Burleigh.

11. "He was keenly sensitive to kindness," and thankful for small mercies, "weighing men's minds and not their trash." Tender and moved to pity for suffering in man or beasts.

12. Of his powers of *Observation* on Nature, Physics, and the Visible World, his works and experiments bear witness, but as he says, he was "cunynge in the humours of persons"—a second Cassius, "he looks quite through the deeds and hearts of men" and notes the "Union of Soul and Body" in their faces and gestures.

13. His *Method* is seen in his instructions to his Sons of Science and in his system of note-taking, and for collecting, storing-up and utilising every scrap of information.

14. His favourite studies were divided between "History Civil and Ecclesiastical," and "History Natural." In questions of the *Advancement of Learning*, Literature and Science, Statesmanship and Politics we find him continually com-



paring the modern condition of things, with that of *Greece and Rome*, which he promised himself to emulate or excel. In his pursuit of Natural Philosophy he set himself to seek out the "Secrets of God"—"the Secrets of Nature"—and to bring into harmony "the Two Books of God." "For, saith our Saviour, *You err, not knowing the Scriptures or the Power of God* : laying before us Two Books, or Volumes, to study. . . . First, the Scriptures revealing the will of God, and then the Creatures expressing His Power." "This primary History is the *Book of God's works, a kind of Second Scripture.*"

15. On leaving the University he was sent abroad to travel; another period of his life placed under a veil; from his works and correspondence we see that he certainly travelled through and resided in France, Spain, and Italy, that he mastered the languages of those countries, and set down his observations and experiences for future use. His *Essay of Travel* records his experiences as to what should be seen and sought, and the eminent persons to be visited in travel that the traveller may "suck experience." He is of opinion that "Home keeping youths have ever homely wits."

16. He was destined for the "Arts of State," for Court Life and Ceremony. But all these, excepting as matter for observation or branches of study he disliked, and for all he repeatedly declared himself to be not only unwilling but most "unfit."

17. Although very severe in judging himself, he was very lenient in his judgment of others, taking "men as he found them," and looking with an eye of pity on the offender "even when it was his duty to punish the offence." The base and wicked he "pitied" for their weakness, their want of knowledge or of opportunities of being taught better. Like the Rosicrucian Father\* whom he pictures in the *New Atlantis*, "he had an eye as though *he pitied men.*"

18. The same disposition rendered him most *tolerant* of other men's opinions. "He was neither a violent partisan against the Church of Rome . . . nor an exclusive advocate for the Church of England in opposition to the Puritans . . . but in the whole range of Ecclesiastical History we can recall no one whose mind looked upon Church controversies with more anxious concern. He was not the latitudinarianism of indifference, but a great comprehensiveness of Charity."

19. He deprecated and avoided Controversy and Disputa-

\* So-called in the *early* edition, published later, as Joseph Heydon's "*Journey to the Land of the Rosicrucians.*"

tion mere for the sake of getting the best of an argument. Controversy, he said, retarded rather than advanced learning, treating "more of words than matter." "In learning, where there is much controversy, there is usually little inquiry."

20. He was a passionate lover of *Freedom* in thought, word, and action. In the *Promus* is the entry "*Thought is Free*," a Freedom in thinking and reasoning which he ranked amongst the most precious of God's gifts to man, but which he carefully distinguishes from "the giddiness of those who count it a *bondage* to fix a belief; *affecting* free will in thinking as well as acting."

21. *Affectation* in any form he reproved and ridiculed; commending, and notably practising "*plainness*" and "*simplicity*" in speech, writing, and behaviour.

22. Preferring the pleasures of the country to those of the town, and above all things desiring peace and quiet for the prosecution of his studies, *he sought Retirement and Obscurity*. His frequent disappearances or eclipses were observed, sometimes with disapproval, at other times with admiration. He was compared to "the Angels, often heard of, but seldom seen."

23. He found it needful "*to keep state in some matters*," and advocates a study and practice of the "*Arts of Secrecy*" and of "*Keeping Counsel*." "Speech and conversation inform, but secrecy induces trust."

24. All forms of *Lying and Imposture* were hateful to him. "There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious." "To say that a man lieth, is as much as to say that a man is brave towards God, and a coward towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man."

25. He was ever a patron and encourager of workers, and especially of young and ardent spirits whom he sought for and whom he allied to himself as "Sons of Science," "Brethren" in his Secret Society. To such when they in any way assisted him in the composition, translation, or publication of his works, he handed on the credit and the profit. Their names, not his, are on the title-pages. But (excepting in later times) *the title of Author is absent from their tombstones*.

In the Tenison correspondence are grateful letters from writers whose works he has revised and adorned. "I have often observed," says Dr. Rawley, "and so have other men of great account, that if had occasion to repeat another man's words after him, he had a use and faculty to dress them in



better vestments and apparel than they had before; so that the Author should find his own speech much amended, and yet the substance of it still retained,

26. He was very hospitable. "His meals were reflections of the ear as well as the stomach, like the *Noctes Atticæ*, or *Convivia Deipno-sophistarum*, wherein a man might be refreshed in his mind no less than in his body. And I have known some of no mean parts that have professed to make use of their note-books, when they have risen from his table."

27. "In which conversations, and otherwise, he was no dashing man (*who would put others out of countenance*), but ever a countenancer and fosterer of another man's parts. *Neither would he appropriate the speech wholly to himself, or delight to outvie others,*" but gave others "*leave to take their turns.*" "He would draw a man on and allure him to speak on a subject wherein he was skilful and would delight to speak. And for himself he contemned no man's observations, but would light his torch at every man's candle."

28. He was never idle, but rested his mind by the variety of his studies with which he would "interlace" a moderate amount of exercise, or "taking the air abroad."

29. "A friend unalterable to his friends," grappling to his heart with hooks of steel all who had done him a kindness, or whose sympathy in mind and pursuits had once been honoured by the name of "a true" or "assured friend," for he says, "A friend is far more than one's self."

30. Generous and liberal to a fault, he reminds us frequently in the anecdotes recorded by his contemporaries of *Timon of Athens*. Perhaps in that Play he satirised himself, his lavish expenditure and his ultimate poverty. "Charity fulfils the law," was a favourite maxim upon which he based his moral code. It is a prominent text in Masonry.

31. Perhaps some principle concerning "the common good" and "all things in common" may have actuated him in his apparent carelessness about money, for although he disliked "business" he was not unbusiness-like. He despises Riches and Money for its own sake, speaking of them with contempt and using the same terms which excited the anger of the citizens against Coriolanus. "Riches," he said, "was *like muck*, of no use except it be spread." So Coriolanus calls money "the muck of the world." But although both in prose and verse he repeatedly speaks of money as dirt and dross when valued for itself alone, he was fully alive to the need of it when it was to be "spread," and to promote the growth of

great enterprises. His efforts in proportion as work grew in his hands, to obtain some lucrative position which would free him from the necessity of earning a livelihood, whilst it would furnish him with means and power for pressing forward his mighty and multifarious undertakings, has been cited as witness to his avarice, extravagance, and love of ostentation, vices all contrary to his very nature. A leading obligation amongst the initiates of his brotherhood seems to have been that they should labour purely from *charity* and from *love of Truth*. Never for gain or profit—if possible, *gratis*.

32. Hints in his private notes tell us that he was *by nature Impatient*; over-zealous and eager. "*Impatience*," he writes, is "*my stay*" (or hindrance). Too great "*alacrity and zeal*" tended, he feared, to "*overweening*." He must strive against the "*extremes*" of "*too heavy—too hot*." He notes that in excitement he speaks too fast, and struggles with his breath. He must calm himself, and refrain from showing impatience in tone, countenance or gesture. So few flashes of "*heat*" or impatience are recorded in him, and so many instances of his great calm and patience under provocation and bitter trials, that he has been charged with coldness or want of feeling. We know that self-examination and deep religious feeling wrought this calm. "*The Scripture*," he writes, "*exhorts us to possess our souls in Patience*. Whosoever is out of patience is out of possession of his own soul."

33. From childhood highly sensitive to Natural Beauties, to sweet sounds of music, birds, or voices, to perfumes, the smell of flowers, sweet air, to light and colour, glitter and "*glorious*" sights of all kinds, Francis soon began to see "*Figures in All Things*," books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and God (or good) in everything. Finding himself to possess "*a mind apt and nimble to perceive analogies*," he felt himself well fitted to be an inquirer into the mysteries of Nature. This Poet's tendency to perceive analogies, and his peculiar facility of rendering them into Metaphor and blending them with the ordinary current language, is a strong and *identifying* characteristic of his style.

34. "It has been said that his Prose is more poetical than his Poetry," for as a Poet he was "*concealed*," and not many specimens of poetry have been allowed to appear under the Name of "*Bacon*." He "*did not profess to be a Poet*;" yet that he was a Poet seems to have been known, and grudgingly acknowledged by even his anti-pathetic biographers, and by



those who had (or have) ends to serve by suppressing the fact. Hear Ben Jonson and Aubrey, Devey, Macaulay, and Campbell:—

"It is he that filled up all numbers, and performed that which may be compared or preferred to Insolent Greece and Haughty Rome."

"His Lordship was a good Poet, but concealed."

"The creative fancy of a Dante or Milton never called up more gorgeous images than those suggested by Bacon, and we question much whether their world's images surpass his in affording scope for the imagination. . . . Unfolding the order of the universe as exhibited to Angelic intelligences," &c., &c.

"The poetic faculty was strong in Bacon's mind. No imagination was ever at once so strong and so subjugated. . . . Much of Bacon's life was passed in a Visionary World . . . of magnificent day-dreams, . . . analogies of all sorts," &c.

35. It was his aim "*to mingle Earth and Heaven.*" This also is one of his early notes. He would mingle Grave and Gay, marry Truth and Poetry, Science and Fancy, the Sublime and the Ridiculous, the Divine and the Common-place, and so raise the minds of men a few yards off the Earth, and bring Heavenly thoughts within the reach of Earthly souls.

36. To this end *he took all knowledge to be his Province.*

37. "This Lord was *religious and conversant with God*, as appeareth by the whole tenour of his writings. . . ." "*A little philosophy, he says, maketh men apt to forget God, but depth of philosophy bringeth man to God again.*" "He was able to render a reason of the hope that was in him, which his writing '*The Confession of Faith*' doth abundantly testify. He repaired frequently to the service of the Church, to hear Sermons, and to the administration of the Sacrament of the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ; and died in the true faith established in the Church of England."

38. His true "goodness," "innocence," unselfishness, and loveableness are attested by the common consent of all who really knew, or experienced him.

"All who were *Good and Great* loved him." His trials and calamities only made him the dearer, and his friends the more devoted to him.

"In his adversity," says Ben Jonson, "I ever prayed that God would give him *strength*; for *greatness* he could not

want. Neither could I condole a word or syllable for him, as knowing no accident could happen to Virtue, but rather help to make it manifest."

Turning now to our "Feigned Histories" we see an excellent example in the Works of Mr. Abraham Cowley, published 1669 by Herringman, with no Editor's name on the title-page, but with a (*crookedly printed*) signature, "T. Sprat" to the "Life" which precedes the *Preface*. Footnotes refer to the pages in "*Cowley*," and to the *Paragraphs in the previous notes* on Francis St. Alban. Again we abridge painfully.

After some particulars of Cowley's true life we read that in early youth he went to school where his brilliant talents "soon increased the noble genius of that place." His love of poetry developed "when he was but just able to read" by delight in poems "*fitter for the examination of men than for the consideration of a child.*" But "*the strength of his fancy was not to be judged by the number of his years.*" In his 13th year a book full of "*force and manly wit*" came forth under his name,\* and in an "*Elegy* . . . he described the highest characters of Religion, Knowledge, and *Friendship*, in an age when most men scarce begin to learn them."†

"*The authors of antiquity* he fully digested, not only in his memory, but his judgment, so that he learnt nothing when a boy that he forsook when he became a man. . . . His teachers could not get him to retain the ordinary rules of grammar, but he supplied that want from the Books themselves whence those Rules had been drawn. . . . Having got the Greek and Roman languages as he had done his own, not by precept, but by use, he practised them, not as a Scholar but a Native." "He was perfect in the Greek and Roman languages."‡

"With these 'extraordinary hopes' he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge,§ where by the progress and continuance of his Wit, it was seen to be both early-ripe and lasting. This brought him the love and esteem of the most eminent men of the University where his exercises *in all kinds* 'were seen fit to be shown on the true Theatre of the World.' Before his 20th year 'he laid the design of his most Masculine Works, finished long after.'"

On leaving the University he travelled abroad and "enjoyed many excellent occasions of observation," beholding "the

\* Page 3, par. 1, 2, 3, 7. † Page 4, par. 10. ‡ Page 3, par. 4, 8, 13.  
§ Francis Bacon's College. || Pages 3, 4, par. 2, 3.



splendour of Courts and Princes," and "conversing with great men of all degrees." But having satisfied his "curiosity and experience,"\* he became weary of the vexations and formalities of an active condition, perplexed with long compliance to Foreign Manners, and satiated with the unquiet Arts of a Court, he resolved to forego all Public Employments, and to follow the inclination of his own mind in the true delights of *Solitary Studies*, Temperate Pleasures, and a moderate income below the malice and flatteries of Fortune. He gave over all pursuit of Honour and Riches, and in his last years was "*concealed in his beloved obscurity, and in that solitude which, from his very childhood, he had so passionately desired.*"†

"In all the several shapes of his style there is still the impression of the same mind, the same unaffected modesty, natural freedom, easy vigour, cheerful passions, and innocent mirth which appeared in all his manners. . . ." "In his Poetry as well as his Life, he mingled the Innocence and Sincerity of the Scholar with the humanity and good behaviour of the other—the Solidity and Art of the one, with the gentility and grace of the other. . . ." "He never went before or after the use of the Age; he forsook the conversation, but never the language, of the City and Court."‡

"He understood *all the variety and power of Poetical Numbers, and practised all sorts*; there is scarcely any particular of all the passions of men, or works of Nature and Providence, which he has passed by undescribed, with due figures of speech, and with a wit which excelled other men's. In his Latin Poems he expressed to admiration *all the Numbers of Verse and all the Figures of Poesy, &c.* This is indeed most remarkable, that a man so *Constant and Fixed* in the Moral Ideas of his mind should be so changeable in his Intellectual, and yet both in the highest degree of excellence."§

"He has been wonderfully happy in *translating* many difficult parts of the noblest Poets of Antiquity in the elegance and true spirit of both the Poetries."||

"His *Davideis* was wholly written at so young an age, that the vastness of the argument, and his handling of it make him seem one of the Miracles that he adorns; like a boy attempting Goliath."¶

\* Pages 6, 8, par. 11, 14, 15, 21. † Pages 8, 9, par. 9, 22, 32. ‡ Pages 9, 11, par. 3, 9, 20. § Pages 10—15, par. 32. || Pages 12, 13, par. 7.

¶ The Editor says that "this way of leaving verbal translations was scarce heard of in England till this present Age. I will not presume to say that Mr. Cowley was the absolute Inventor of it." Pages 13, par. 1, &c.

On returning from his travels he chose as a profession "Physic, and studied Anatomy, Botany, and Simples, and speedily mastered that part of the art of Medicine. But *instead of employing his skill for profit*, he digested it into a treatise of Herbs, Flowers, and Trees." (See hints on these subjects with Dr. Parry and others; and the many notes in the '*Sylva Sylvarum*, the '*History of Life and Death*,' and in his private note-books on Medicines, Recipes, and the Regimen of Health.)

"His style, like his behaviour, is hardest to be imitated, consisting of a natural easiness, unstudied, unaffected grace," to be seen also "*in his letters, of which there is a great collection, not to be published*," and his "*Discourses by way of Essays upon some of the gravest subjects that concern the contentment of a virtuous mind*."\*

"He esteemed other men for their goodness, generosity, and neglect of vain pomp and human greatness, and for their *honesty* above all excellencies of their knowledge."†

"He had a perfect natural goodness, which neither the uncertainties of his condition, nor the largeness of his wit could pervert; a strength of mind that was proof against the Art of Poetry itself. Nothing vain, fantastical, flattering or insolent appeared in his humour. He had a great integrity and plainness of manners . . . the truth of his heart was above the corruption of ill examples."

"There was nothing affected in his habit, person or gesture; he practised the forms of good breeding without burdening himself or others." "He never oppressed any man's parts, nor put any man out of countenance. He had no emulation for Fame or contention for Profit with any man. His *modesty and humility* were so great that if he had not had many other equal virtues they might have been thought dissimulation."‡ Yet he had a great reverence for a good reputation.

"His *conversation* was most excellent, and rather admired by his familiar friends than by strangers at first sight; he was content to be known by degrees, and so the esteem conceived of him was better grounded and lasting." His *speech, grave and gay*, was so delightful that no man parted willingly from his Discourse: for he ordered it so that every man was satisfied that he had his share. "His wit was so tempered that no man had ever reason to wish it less."§

\* Page 17, par. 31. See in *Essay of Travel* and elsewhere, recommendations to *letter writing*.

† Page 18, par. 23. ‡ Page 19, par. 20, 24, 28, 29, 9. § Page 19, par. 25, 26.



"He performed all his duties with admirable tenderness . . . his friendships were inviolable. The same men with whom he was familiar in his youth, were his nearest acquaintances at the day of his death." "His wit was so tempered that no man ever had reason to wish it less." "He governed his Passions with great moderation," patient under disappointments and ill-fortune, "his muse complained, but not his mind."\*

"His Learning was large and profound, well composed of *All Ancient and Modern Knowledge*, but it sat exceedingly close and handsome upon him . . . He was *accomplished with all manner of abilities* for the greatest business, if he would but have thought so himself."†

"His earnest affection for Obscurity and Retirement (caused him to) withdraw out of the crowd with desire to enlighten and instruct the minds of those that remained in it."‡ It was his resolution (in retirement) to "search into the Secrets of Divine and Human Knowledge and to communicate what he should observe." "He alway professed that he went out of the world as it was Man's, into the same world as it was Nature's, and as it was God's."§ "The whole compass of Creation and all the wonderful effects of the Divine Wisdom were the constant prospect of his senses and his thoughts." Though he sprinkled his works with many allusions and similitudes taken from the Bible . . . he did of all men living abhor the abuse of Scripture by licentious raillery."|| "His poetry he dedicated to the service of his Maker, to describe the Great Images of Religion and Virtue wherein his mind abounded . . . singing the praises of God and Nature"¶ and "designed to submit *Mortal Wit to Heavenly Truths*."\*\*

"His body was attended to the grave by a great number of persons of the most eminent quality, and followed with the praises of All Good and Learned Men."††

\* Page 19, par. 10, 16, 27, 30. † Pages 19, 20, par. 13, 34. ‡ Page 21, par. 9, 22. § Page 21, par. 12, 36. || Page 14, Comp. Bacon's Essay on *Civil Discourse*. ¶ Page 9, par. 33, 35. \*\* Page 13, par. 33. †† Page 23, par. 36.

## CHRONICLE PLAYS (No. 4).

IN his Essay upon *Ambition* Bacon observes:—"There is also great use of ambitious men, in being *screens to princes, in matters of danger and envy*. For no man will take that part, *except he be like a seel'd dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him.*" (*Ambition. Essays, 1625.*)

This is the portrait of a blind man, and of a good man in high place, for the dove is the type and emblem of the Holy Spirit. Henry the Sixth was crown'd, at nine months old at Paris, and consequently during his long minority, was under the protectorship of his uncle Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. The latter attracted the envy and hatred of Cardinal Beaufort, who was ambitious, and later of the Duke of Suffolk (because he opposed the King's marriage to Margaret of France). Finally he fell a victim to the machinations of these two, who had him done to death. But as long as he was alive he acted, exactly as Bacon describes, *as a screen to the young King, drawing to himself all the danger and all the envy*, not only of the Queen's party, but also of Richard Plantagenet, whose ambition for succession to the crown he check'd.

A "*seel'd dove*," is an expression borrow'd from hawking, to signify *with eyes closed*. As applied, it means blindness, or ignorance. Thus Antony alluding to Cleopatra, exclaims:—

The wise Gods *seel our eyes*,  
In our own filth drop our clear judgments ; make us  
Adore our errors.—Act III. xiii. 112.

In short, we have the idea presented to us, of a man, of a good and guileless character, *in great place*, or aloft, impelled by ambition, but blind to the dangers which that height suggests from "*birds of prey*." When the Queen, Suffolk, Beaufort, and Buckingham, before the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, accuse Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, of treason to the King and State, the latter in defence of his Protector, *compares him to a dove*:—

*King*.—But shall I speak my conscience,  
Our kinsman Gloucester is as innocent  
From meaning treason to our royal person  
*As is the sucking lamb, or harmless dove.*  
The duke is virtuous, mild, and too well given  
To dream on evil or to work my downfall.

*Queen*.—Ah, what's more dangerous than this fond affiance!  
*Seems he a dove. His feathers are but borrow'd.*

—2 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act III. 1. 69.



Bacon observes in his Essay upon Riches :—" A great State left to an heir, is as a lure to all the *birds of prey*, round about to seize on him, if he be not the better establish'd in years and judgment." (*Essays*, 1625.)

This text is of great assistance in the understanding of the first quoted. For just as the former seems to point to good Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, so the last text, still more strongly, points at Henry the Sixth, and the state of England during his reign, and the War of the Roses.

Henry, who, in Bacon's words, was not the better establish'd in years and judgment, disinherited his own lawful son and heir-apparent, Edward, Prince of Wales, in favour of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and his heirs ; retaining only a life interest in the Crown. All this is depicted, in the first Act, of the third Part, of the Play of *King Henry VI.* Directly the King consented to this confirmation of the succession to the Crown to Richard, Duke of York (and his heirs), the Earl of Northumberland exclaims to Henry :—

*Be thou a prey unto the House of York  
And die in bands for this unmanly deed !*

—3 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act I. i.

Indeed so conscious was the King, of the act of suicide he was committing, that he exclaims the hope, his Queen would revenge him, upon Plantagenet :—

*Reveng'd may she be on that hateful duke,  
Whose haughty spirit, wing'd with desire  
Will cost my crown, and like an empty eagle  
Tire on the flesh of me and of my son.*

—3 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act. I. i.

Here then, is the imagery *pertaining to birds of prey* ! The House of York is the eagle, the House of Lancaster the prey ! And this metaphor is not only continued to Richard's son (afterwards King Richard the Third), but applied to the supporters of their claims,—to Warwick, and others who were stirred by *mounting ambition*, to fight for the succession. But first, a few citations to show how Bacon, who was an expert upon the subject of hawking (as Francis Osborn states), compares ambition to the mounting of birds in the air :—

*And for we think the eagle winged pride  
Of sky-aspiring and ambitious thoughts,  
With rival-hating envy, set on you  
To wake our peace.—Rich. II.*, Act I. iii. 129.

A very natural metaphor to occur to a poet, replies a possible critic. But, I reply it is regularly introduced :—

These growing feathers pluck'd from Cæsar's wing  
 Will make him fly an ordinary pitch,  
 Who else would soar above the view of men  
 And keep us all in servile fearfulness.—*Jul. Cæsar* I. i. 77.

The ambition is coupled with the envy, and of course produces it, as in the case of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, and Bolingbroke, in the lines cited. Bacon writes :—  
 “There is use also of ambitious men, in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops.” (*Ambition. Essays*, 1625.) In the posthumous edition of the *Essays* of 1638, this variation occurs :—“*Ut prægrandibus alas amputent, et eorum potentiam labefactent.*”—*i.e.*, To cut the wings of persons who are too great, and to diminish their power.

It will therefore be seen that Bacon held the metaphor of the soaring, or mounting bird, as the best to illustrate pride of place. But by the term “*birds of prey*,” all the parties, or factions, concerned in the struggle of the War of the Roses might seem understood, but it is to Warwick and to the entire York faction, it is particularly applied. The king-maker Warwick stands easily *princeps* of these birds of prey. Warwick exclaims :—

Neither the King, nor he that loves him best,  
 The proudest he that holds up Lancaster  
 Dares stir a wing if Warwick shake his bells.

—3 *K. Hen.* VI., Act I. i. 45.

The “*great State left to an heir*” was the Crown of England, and mark, Bacon does not say, “*a great estate*,” but “*a great state*,” quite another thing altogether. Warwick and the House of York were the birds of prey. The emblem of the eagle (applied to the Duke of York, by King Henry the Sixth) is endorsed by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, son of the former (afterwards Richard the Third). Speaking of his father to his brother, he exclaims :—

*Gloucester.*—Nay, if thou be that princely eagle's bird,  
 Show thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun.

—3 *K. Hen.* VI., Act II. i. 91.

And again :—

*Gloucester.*—I cannot tell ; the world is grown so bad  
 That wrens make prey where eagles dare not perch.

—*Rich. III.*, Act I. iii.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Gloucester.*—Our *aery* buildeth in the cedar's top,  
 And dallies with the wind and scorns the sun.—*Ib.* 264.



All these three allusions to the *eagle*, are applied to the House of York. The first refers to Richard Plantagenet, the second to his son Richard, Duke of Gloucester (who is pointing at himself), and in the last we probably have an indirect hint for Warwick the King-maker, *who is compared to both the cedar and the sun*. The defeat and death of Warwick at the battle of Barnet, by King Edward the Fourth, consolidated the House of York upon the English throne. It will be remembered, that Edward had been helped to the Crown by Warwick, but that the latter, upon hearing of the King's marriage, with Lady Grey, turned against him :—

Warwick.—I came from Edward as ambassador,  
But I return his sworn and mortal foe ;  
I was the chief that raised him to the crown,  
And I'll be chief to bring him down again.  
—3 K. Hen. VI., Act III. iii. 256.

When Warwick is brought in dying on the field of Barnet, he exclaims of his own fall, and death :—

Thus yields the cedar \* to the axe's edge,  
Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle,  
Under whose shade the ramping lion slept,  
Whose top branch overpeer'd Jove's spreading tree  
And kept low shrubs from winter's powerful wind.  
These eyes, that now are dimm'd with death's black veil,  
Have been as piercing as the mid-day sun,  
To search the secret treasons of the world.

—3 K. Hen. VI., Act V. ii. 11.

Here then are the two emblems, applied by Gloucester to

\* Of Nobility, Bacon writes :—"It is a reverend thing, to see an ancient castle, or building, not in decay ; or to see a *fair timber* (*Annosam et proceram*—old and tall) *tree, sound and perfect*. How much more to behold an ancient Noble Family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of Time. For new nobility is but the act of power. But ancient nobility is the act of Time." (*Essays. Nobility*, 1625.) This comparison of nobility to a tree, finds particular parallel in the great King-maker Warwick, who exclaims at his end :—

Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge,  
Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle,  
Under whose shade the ramping lion slept,  
Whose top branch overpeer'd Jove's spreading tree  
And kept low shrubs from winter's powerful wind.

—3 K. Hen. VI., Act V. ii. 11.

Bacon has given a decided clue for the cedar, when in his Latin variation of the *Essays* (1638), he indicates it as "old and tall." The same reflection as to overpeering height appears in the line placed in italics, that is to say, the cedar dominates the oak tree. Those who have visited Warwick Castle, must instantly recall to mind, those magnificent specimens of the Cedar of Lebanon, growing immediately beneath the castle walls, on the banks of the River Avon. Were these trees already extant in Bacon's time ?—probably so

Warwick (and also applied to himself and his house by the latter), *cedar and sun*! Gloucester's speech signifies, the building of the York succession and power, upon Warwick's cedar, which was true. Edward the Fourth, as Warwick states, was "*raised to the Crown*," by the cedar. When Warwick alludes to the "*princely eagle*" and to the cedar, ("*whose arms gave shelter*,") he speaks of Richard Plantagenet and, also how he (Warwick) was an instrument in the building aloft of the York House, by means of his arm. When Gloucester says "Our aery," we have a hint for the "*princely eagle*" who "*scorns the sun*."—i.e., scorned Warwick and defeated him at Barnet!

Virgil gives us in his "Georgics," the "*omens before the Civil War*," in these words:—

Sol tibi signa dabit. Solem quis dicere falsum  
Audeat? Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus  
Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella;

—*Georgics I.*, 465.

These were lines, applied by Virgil, to indicate the omens preceding *the Civil War*, that followed the death of *Julius Cæsar*. And the student will of course immediately perceive, the happy parallel, Bacon has hit upon (in introducing these two last lines in his *Essay upon Seditions and Troubles*), for as Bacon says, "*Tempests in State are commonly greatest when things grow to equality*," and this was exactly the case in events following Cæsar's death. Antony exclaims:—

Our Italy  
Shines o'er with civil swords. Sextus Pompeius  
Makes his approaches to the port of Rome.  
Equality of two domestic powers  
Breed scrupulous faction.—*Ant. and Cleo.*, Act I. iii. 45.

Bacon perceived that the Civil War in England, commonly called the War of the Roses, was greatly due to equality of factions, or rival powers, whereof there was afforded an extraordinary parallel in Roman history. The faction of Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus, was opposed to the faction of Brutus and Cassius, in the same way the house of Lancaster was opposed to the house of York. "This faction, or party of Antonius, and Octavianus Cæsar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time. But when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius, and Octavianus brake, and subdivided." (*Faction, Essay*, 1625.)

Something very closely akin to this took place in our Civil War of the Roses. Warwick not only broke up his own

party, by deserting it, and going over to the other side, or faction, but undoubtedly he was :—

as piercing as the midday sun  
To search the secret treasons of the world.

For example, it was Warwick who searched out the secret treasons of the Duke of Suffolk, and charged him with the murder of good Duke Humphrey of Gloucester.\*—Warwick gathered from the appearance of the body, that the Duke had met his end from violence. With equal prescience, and lightning instinct he fastened upon the Duke of Suffolk, and Cardinal Beaufort, (as enemies of the Protector), as the guilty murderers. Limited space forbids quotation, but it may be read in the second scene, of the third act, of the second part, of *King Henry the Sixth*, particularly from lines 122, to lines 230. The piercing sight of Warwick foresaw and foretold from the first, the Civil War :—

*Warwick.*—And here I prophesy : this brawl to-day,  
Grown to this faction in the Temple garden,  
Shall send between the Red rose and the White  
A thousand souls to death and deadly night.  
—1 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act II. iv. 124.

It is remarkable to find Casca, calling attention, to the omens preceding the death of Cæsar, in parallel language to

\* “Shepherds of people, had need know the *Calendar of Tempests in State* ; which are commonly greatest, when things grow to equality ; as *natural Tempests* about the *Æquinoctia*. And as there are certain hollow blasts of wind, and secret swelling of seas, before a tempest, so are there in States :—*Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operla tumescere bella,*” (*Of Seditions and Troubles*). The Latin means “He (*Sol tibi signa dabit*), also often warns of threatening hidden tumults ; and treacheries, and of secret wars swelling to a head” (*Virgil, Georgics I.*, 456).

The *treacheries*, were the murder of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, and “the secret wars swelling to a head,” was the rebellion of Richard Plantagenet, who with his soldiers from Ireland, practically began the fierce tempest of the War of the Roses, at the battle of St. Albans. The tumult was that of Jack Cade, which was prepared by York.

*York.*—I will stir up in England *some black storm*  
Shall blow ten thousand souls to heaven or hell ;  
And this fell *tempest* shall not cease to rage  
Until the golden circuit on my head.

—2 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act III. i.

What Bacon’s text signifies is, that Protectors and Kings (Humphrey and Henry the Sixth) need State prescience, or political foresight, and the prudence accruing from such knowledge. Warwick alone possessed this gift. The passage has a double meaning. It applies to portents, and natural prodigies in the heavens, and nature, preceding great historical events. And it also pertains to political divination, of parties, and times, needed in every good, shepherd, and pilot of the State.



Bacon's opening passage to his Essay upon *Seditions and Troubles*.

O Cicero  
 I have seen *tempests*, when the scolding winds  
 Have rived the knotty oaks, and I have seen  
 The ambitious ocean swell and rage and foam,  
 To be exalted with the threatening clouds;  
 But never till to-night, never till now,  
 Did I go through a *tempest* dropping fire.  
*Either there is a civil strife in heaven,*  
 Or else the world, too saucy with the gods,  
 Incenses them to send destruction.

—*Julius Cæsar*, Act I. iii.

The "*civil strife in heaven*," was the portent of the coming *tempest* in the State—of the civil strife on earth! This "*calendar of tempests in the State*," was easily read by a man of Warwick's temperament, but not by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. Bacon says that signs of these troubles are:—"Libels, and licentious discourses against the State, when they are frequent and open." (*Seditions and Troubles*, 1625.) In the Second part of *King Henry the Sixth*, Thomas Horner is charged with publishing a libel, or licentious discourse, to the effect:—

That Richard Duke of York  
 Was rightful heir unto the English Crown.—Act I. iii.

So likewise Jack Cade's rebellion (introduced in the Second part of *Henry the Sixth*), stirred up by Richard Plantagenet, comes under the head of what Bacon calls "*sedition tumults*," and "*sedition fames*" (reports), "the last being feminine (passive) the first masculine, or active. (*Vide* Essay: *Seditions and Troubles*). I now return to my first texts, from which this is a digression.

The "*lure to all the birds of prey*," was the unfortunate King Henry the Sixth:—

York.—Were't not all one, an *empty eagle* were set  
 To guard the chicken from the hungry *Kite*,  
 As place Duke Humphrey for the King's protector?

—2 *K. Hen.* VI.

Queen.—So the poor chicken should be sure of death.

—2 *K. Hen.* VI., Act III. i.

In reality the "*empty eagle*," was the speaker himself—the Duke of York (Richard Plantagenet). This charge against good Duke Humphrey, of plotting ambitiously against the King, was utterly false—only a device of his enemies' malice, to destroy him. His enemies charged him with ambition, in a scene laid at St. Albans.

*King*.—But what a point, my lord, your falcon made,  
And what a pitch she flew above the rest!  
To see how God in all His creatures works!  
*Yea, man and birds are fain of climbing high.*

*Suffolk*.—No marvel, an it like your Majesty,  
My lord protectors hawks do tower so well;  
They know their master loves to be aloft  
And bears his thoughts above his falcon's pitch.

*Gloucester*.—My lord 'tis but a base ignoble mind  
That mounts no higher than a bird can soar.

*Cardinal*.—I thought as much; he would be above the clouds.

*Gloucester*.—Ay, my Lord Cardinal? How think you by that?  
*Were it not good your grace could fly to heaven?*

*King*.—The treasury of everlasting joy.—2 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act II. i. 5.

There is only one bird that can fly to heaven, in the emblematic sense, implied in these lines—to wit, the Dove! It is the "*seel'd dove*," who can mount without accusation of ambition! Bacon writes:—"The spirit of Jesus is the spirit of a dove" (the miracles of our Saviour). It was this spirit, which animated Gloucester, for ambition he reproved in his wife Eleanor. (*Vide* 2 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act I. ii. 41—50). A thoroughly good man, beloved by the saint-like King, and by populace:—\*

What though the common people favour him,  
Calling him "Humphrey, the good Duke of Gloucester."  
Clapping their hands, and crying with loud voice,  
"Jesu maintain your royal excellence?"  
With "God preserve the good Duke Humphrey!"  
—*Ib.*, Act I. i. 157.

It was just part of the utterly guileless character of the good duke, to be like the "*seel'd dove*," not only perfectly innocent, but somewhat blind to his danger. To get at Henry the Sixth, it was necessary to first get his protector out of the way. The Duchess of Gloucester clearly foresaw the malice of her husband's enemies:—

\* The Queen, exclaims to Henry the Sixth:—

Is all thy comfort shut in Gloucester's tomb?  
Why, then Dame Margaret was ne'er thy joy,  
*Erect his statue and worship it,*  
*And make my image but an alehouse sign.*

—2 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act III. ii.

This is clearly a reference, or allusion, to the famous monument erected to the Duke of Gloucester, in St. Albans Abbey. There was very probably an alehouse also (at St. Albans), bearing the sign of "Queen Margaret," just as the poet knew very well, that there was an inn bearing the sign "*The Castle*," (or *Castle in St. Albans*), where the Duke of Somerset fell in battle.—2 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act V. ii.

*Duchess.*—For Suffolk, he that can do all in all,  
And York and impious Beaufort, that false priest,  
Have all lim'd bushes to betray thy wings,  
And fly thou how thou canst, they'll tangle thee.

*Gloucester.*—Ah! Nell! forbear! Thou aims't all awry;  
I must offend thee before I be attainted;  
And had I twenty times so many foes,  
And each of them had twenty times their power,  
All these could not procure me any scathe,  
So long as I am loyal, true and crimeless.—*Ib.*, Act II. iv.

Observe how Gloucester is compared to a bird. Observe the “*seel'd dove*,” in his reply—spoken out of a pure, and simple conscience of innocence, but a little blind, and ignorant of the dangers from the birds of prey! But Warwick knew, who the *Kites* were, who murdered Duke Humphrey:—

*Warwick.*—Who finds the partridge in the puttock's nest,  
But may imagine how the bird was dead,  
Although the *Kite* soar with unblooded beak?

*Queen.*—Are you the butcher, Suffolk? Where's your knife?  
Is Beaufort termed a *Kite*?—2 *K. Hen.* VI., Act III. ii. 191.

The metaphor comparing Henry the Sixth to a lure is always at hand. Clifford reproaches the King for disinheriting the heir apparent, in favour of Richard Plantagenet, and his heirs:—

Thou, being a King, blessed with a goodly son,  
Didst yield consent to disinherit him,  
Which argued thee a most unloving father.  
Unreasonable creatures feed their young  
And though man's face be fearful to their eyes,  
Yet, in protection of their tender ones,  
Who hath not seen them even with those wings  
Which sometimes they have used with fearful flight  
Make war with them that climb'd unto their nest.

—3 *K. Hen.* VI., Act II. ii.

It was the envy, and ambition of his enemies, that brought about the fall of good Duke Humphrey of Gloucester. A little before his end, he exclaims:—

*Gloucester.*—Ah, gracious lord, these days are dangerous.  
Virtue is choked with foul *ambition*.—142.

Sharp Buckingham unburthens with his tongue  
The *envious load* that lies upon his heart;  
And dogged York that reaches at the moon,  
Whose overweening arm I have plucked back,  
By false accuse doth level at my life.

—2 *K. Hen.* VI., Act III. i. 156.

Bacon writes of *Ambition*:—“Ambition is like choler; which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of



alacrity, and stirring, *if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous.*" (*Essays. Ambition*, 1625.)

In order to get the ambitious Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, out of the way, he was sent to Ireland to put down the rebellion there. However he discovers the real motive of his enemies, and exclaims:—

York.—Well, nobles, 'tis politiciely done,  
To send me packing with an host of men;  
I fear me you but warm the starved snake,  
Who cherish'd in your breasts, will sting your hearts.  
—2 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act III. i. 341.

It will be observed how admirably this parallels Bacon's passage upon *ambition that is stopped*? Bacon is thinking of the serpent when he says, "*it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous.*" The word "*adust*," is evidently derived from "*adusta*," which signifies "*inflamed*," *i.e.*, warmed. It is against Humphrey, that York is plotting.

York.—*For Humphrey being dead, as he shall be,  
And Henry put apart, the next for me.*—*Ib.* 382.

Here then is the *ambition*, and its *stopping*,\* with its consequent malice just as Bacon puts it. York's malice was entirely due to the fact that his, "overweening arm, had been plucked back," by Gloucester, as the latter confesses in the passage cited. This is the more apparent, from the fact, that quite recently York had been a recognizer of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester's virtues. In this same act, we find Richard Plantagenet saying:—

York.—Do you as I do, in these dangerous days:  
Wink at the Duke of Suffolk's insolence,  
At Beaufort's pride, at Somerset's ambition,  
At Buckingham and all the crew of them,  
Till they have snared *the shepherd of the flock*,  
That virtuous prince, the good Duke Humphrey.  
—2 *K. Hen. VI.*, II. ii. 169,

\* The cause of Iago's jealousy was entirely due to his soldier's *ambition being stopped*. Othello promoted Cassio in his place:—

And I, of whom his eyes had seen the proof  
At Rhodes, at Cyprus and on other grounds  
Christian and heathen, must be be-leed and calm'd  
By debitor and creditor. This counter-caster,  
He in good time, must his lieutenant be,  
And I—God bless the mark! his Moorship's ancient.

—*Othello I.*, i.

After Iago is discovered Lodovico exclaims:—

Where is that viper? Bring the villain forth.—Act v. ii.

One might reasonably imagine Bacon was thinking of the Duke, and of King Henry the Sixth, when he is found observing:—"One of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Macchiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms : *That the Christian Faith, had given up good men, in prey, to those that are tyrannical and unjust.*" (*Essays. Goodness and Goodness of Nature, 1625.*)

Bacon writes : " This public envy, seemeth to beat chiefly, upon principal officers, or Ministers, rather than upon Kings, and estates themselves." (*Envy. 1625.*)

This is most remarkably illustrated in the case of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. The plots of the Duke of Suffolk, and the Queen, of Beaufort, the Duke of York, and Somerset, all set in the direction of the Protector, rather than towards the King. In this Essay, Bacon says : " So when Envy, is gotten once into a State, *it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour.*" (*Ib.*)

All the best actions of good Duke Humphrey were traduced by his envious enemies, into charges of high treason. The Duke of York accuses him of peculation, whereas he had spent his money to relieve garrisons.

*York.*—"Tis thought, my Lord, that you took bribes of France,  
And, being Protector, stay'd the soldiers' pay.

To which the Duke replies, not only with emphatic denial, but also adds :—

*Gloucester.*—No ; many a pound of mine own proper store,  
Because I would not tax the needy commons,  
Have I dispursed to the garrisons,  
And never asked for restitution.

*York.*—In your Protectorship you did devise  
Strange tortures for offenders never heard of,  
That England was defamed by tyranny.

*Gloucester.*—Why, 'tis well known that, whiles I was Protector,  
Pity was all the fault that was in me ;  
For I should melt at an offender's tears,  
And lowly words were ransom for their fault.

—2 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act III. i. 104—127.

Bacon continues :—" But this is a sure rule, that if the *envy* upon the Minister be great, when the cause of it, in him is small ; or if the *envy* be general, in a manner upon all the Ministers of an estate ; then the *envy* (though hidden) is truly upon the State itself (*Regem, aut, statum ipsum*—the King, or State itself! 1638)." (*Essays. Envy, 1625.*)

This was exactly the case with England, in the events preceding the War of the Roses—the *envy* was general, the

causes for it, in the character, or acts of Humphrey, the Protector, of the smallest possible degree. Exeter exclaims:—

But howso'er, no simple man that sees  
This jarring discord of nobility,  
This shouldering of each other in the court,  
This factious bandying of their favourites  
But that it doth presage some ill event.  
'Tis much when sceptres are in children's hands;  
*But more when envy breeds unkind division;*  
*There comes the ruin, there begins confusion.*

—1 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act IV. i. 187.

Bacon writes of King's Favourites:—"As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may be done with safety suddenly, the only way is to change continually of favours and disgraces. *wherein* may not know what to expect; and be, as it is said, *good*." (*Essays. Ambition*, 1625.)

Richard, Duke of Gloucester, is pictured in exactly this situation of *uncertainty, and expectation*, when he exclaims of his hopes of the crown:—

And yet I know not how to get the crown,  
For many lives stand between me and home.  
*And I,—like one lost in a thorny wood,*  
That rends the thorns and is rent with the thorns,  
Seeking a way and straying from the way;  
Not knowing how to find the open air,  
But toiling desperately to find it out  
Torment myself to catch the English crown.

—3 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act III., ii. 172.

Bacon writes of *Envy*:—"It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is, *the proper attribute of the devil, who is called the envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night*. As it always cometh to pass, that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark. And to the prejudice of good things, *such as is the wheat*." (*Envy. Essays*, 1625.)

Directly we turn to the last scene, of the final act of the third part, of the Play of *Henry the Sixth*, Richard, Duke of Gloucester is to be found exclaiming, with reference to his nephew's hopes of succession to the throne of England:—

*Gloucester.*—*I'll blast his harvest, if your head were laid;*  
*For yet I am not look'd on in the world.*

—3 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act V., vii.

In this speech we have a perfect picture of the "*envious man*," who will, "feed upon their own good, or upon others' evil. And who wanteth the one, *will prey upon the other*." (*Envy*). Richard the Third, indeed, was a devil incarnate,



and as a devil he has been pourtrayed. Of him it may truly be said, "he ploughed iniquity, and sowed wickedness, and reaped the same." (Job iv. 8). Richard the Third was envious of Queen Elizabeth and her friends:—

*Q. Elizabeth.*—Come, come, we know your meaning, brother Gloucester;  
You envy my advancement and my friends.

—*Rich. III.*, Act I., iii. 74.

I have very little doubt, (for myself at least), that Bacon was pointing at his Play portrait of Richard the Third, when he penned the sentence,—"*Envy is the proper attribute of the devil.*" Henry the Sixth exclaims of Gloucester:—

'Tis sin to flatter; "good" was little better:  
"Good Gloucester" and good devil were alike.

—3 *K. Hen.* VI., Act V. 6.

*Q. Anne.*— . . . and mortal eyes cannot endure the devil.  
Avaunt, thou dreadful minister of hell!

*Foul devil*, for God's sake, hence, and trouble us not  
For thou hast made the happy earth thy hell.

—*K. Rich. III.*, Act I., ii.

*Gloucester.*—And I nothing to back my suit at all  
But the plain devil, . . . —*Ib.*, ii. 236.

Queen Margaret calls him:—

A hell-hound that doth hunt us all to death.—Act IV., iii.

His thee to hell for shame, and leave the world  
Thou Cacodæmon! There thy kingdom is!—Act I., iii. 143.

In the Bible, the wolf is the emblem, or type, introduced to indicate *the devil*, who scatters and devours the sheep. The Protector Humphrey had been the *Shepherd of his people* and of his King. But after his death, the poor King soon fell a prey to the wolf Gloucester, who stabbed him to death. Henry the Sixth, just before his death, at the hands of Richard, exclaims:—

So flies the reckless shepherd from the wolf;  
So first the harmless sheep doth yield his fleece,  
And next his throat unto the butcher's knife.

—3 *K. Hen.* VI., Act V. vi.

*Q. Margaret.*—And yonder is the wolf that makes this spoil.

—3 *K. Hen.* VI., V. iv. 80.

Queen Elizabeth alluding to the murdered princes:—

Wilt thou, O God, fly from such gentle lambs,  
And throw them in the entrails of the *wolf*?

—*Rich. III.*, Act IV. iii.

In the Bible, "*the harvest*," means the end of the world, and the parable of the tares, to which I allude, is a parable of the "*enemy, who hath done this*,"—that is to say, of the envious man, who endeavours to spoil, the reaping of the corn—that is *the good life*. But it is applied also in a personal sense. For example Job says, "Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh to his season" (Job v. 26). And in this sense of the *well-spent life*, we find it applied to good Duke Humphrey of Gloucester :—\*

Why droops my lord, like over ripened *corn*,  
Hanging the head at Ceres' plenteous load?

—2 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act I. ii

And of his death :—

His well proportion'd beard made rough and rugged  
Like to the summer's *corn* by tempest lodged.

—*Ib.*, Act III. ii. 175.

Though we have spent our *harvest* of this King  
We are to reap the harvest of his Son.

—*K. Rich. III.*, Act II. ii. 115.

The same idea of *blasting the wheat* :—

Here is your brother, like a mildew'd ear,  
Blasting his wholesome brother.—*Hamlet III.*, iv. 64.

Bacon says of *Envy* :—"We will add this, in general, touching the affection of *Envy*, that of all other affections, it is the most importune, and continual. For of other affections, there is occasion given but now and then. And therefore, it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit* (Envy keeps no holiday). For it is ever working upon some, or other." (*Envy. Essays*, 1625.)

This is meant for Richard the Third, whose envious nature was for ever at work upon friends and foes alike. In the first scene, of Act two, King Edward the Fourth, whose end is not far off, is presented as peace-maker between the rival factions :—

*K. Edward.*—Happy, indeed, as we have spent the day.  
Brother, we have done deeds of charity;

\* It is remarkable to note, how entirely opposite these two Dukes (both of Gloucester), were in character. Good Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, and Richard Duke of Gloucester—the identity of title, and the contrast, is striking!

Made peace of enmity, fair love of hate,  
 Between these swelling wrong-incensed peers.  
*Gloucester.*—A blessed labour, my most sovereign liege.  
 Amongst this princely heap, if any here  
 By false intelligence, or wrong surmise,  
 Hold me a foe;  
 If I unwittingly, or in my rage,  
 Have aught committed that is hardly borne  
 By any in this presence, I desire  
 To reconcile me to his friendly peace:  
 'Tis death to me to be at enmity;  
 I hate it, and desire all good men's love.  
 First, madam, I entreat true peace of you,  
 Which I will purchase with my duteous service;  
 Of you, my noble cousin Buckingham,  
 If ever any grudge were lodged between us;  
 Of you, Lord Rivers, and Lord Grey, of you,  
 That all without desert have frown'd on me;  
 Dukes, earls, lords, gentlemen; indeed of all.  
 I do not know that Englishman alive  
 With whom my soul is any jot at odds  
 More than the infant that is born to-night:  
 I thank my God for my humility.

*Q. Elizabeth.*—A Holy day shall this be kept hereafter.

—*K. Rich. III.*, Act II. i. 48—73.

When Bacon writes, "*Envy keeps no holiday*," he means, not only that envy never rests, or ceases, but, *that nothing is sacred to it*, no promise, no vow—for our modern word "*holiday*," is but a corruption of "*holy day*"—*i.e.*, a day of rest, and peace, like the Sabbath. Gloucester, it has been seen, has in his speech, been proffering peace and amity to those he mentions—to his noble cousin Buckingham, and to Lords Rivers and Grey. Well, as the Play tells us, *he could not keep his promises*,—the Holy day, that was to be the type, or covenant, of this new pact, was going to be broken. Gloucester was not going to observe this day in the immediate future! And why not? Because his fiendish envy would not let him! The first to fall victims to his malice, after this scene, were Rivers and Grey, to whom he refers. Lastly, his bosom friend Buckingham fell a victim, who indeed was the first to help him to the crown. Bacon writes:—"Things there are that a man cannot do himself, and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the Ancients to say, *That a friend is another himself*. For that a friend is far more than himself." (*Friendship*, 1625.)

Richard the Third describes Buckingham as:—

*My other self, my counsel's consistory,  
 My oracle, my prophet!*—Act II. ii. 151.

And Buckingham, with regard to Richard, says:—



Fear not, my lord, I'll play the orator  
As if the golden fee for which I plead  
Were for myself!—Act III. v. 95.

In the same Essay, Bacon says of friendship :—"A man can scarcely allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them. A man cannot brook to supplicate or beg." (*Friendship*, 1625.) Now this is exactly what Buckingham did for Gloucester, begging the crown for him from the citizens. The ghost of Buckingham exclaims of King Richard :—

The first was I that helped thee to the crown ;  
The last was I that felt thy tyranny.—Act V. iii.

Bacon observes, in his *Colours of Good and Evil* :—"Evil approacheth to good sometimes for concealment, sometimes for protection. So hypocrisy draweth near to religion for covert and hiding itself. *Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni*, and Sanctuary men which were commonly inordinate men, and malefactors, were wont to be nearest to priests and prelates and holy men, for the majesty of good things is such, as the confines of them are reverent" (No. 7). Richard the Third put on the garb of religion to cover his profound hypocrisy, his unfathomable wickedness. No need of evidence, since he is made to say of himself :—

And thus I clothe my naked villainy  
With old odd ends stolen out of Holy Writ,  
And seem a saint, when most I play the devil.  
—*K. Rich. III.*, Act I. iii. 336.

It was the Duke of Buckingham who suggested this :—

And look you get a prayer book in your hand,  
And stand between two churchmen good, my lord.  
—Act III. vii.

Ah ha, my lord, this prince is not an Edward !  
He is not lolling on a lewd day bed,  
But on his knees at meditation ;  
Not dallying with a brace of courtesans,  
But meditating with two deep divines ;  
Not sleeping to engross his idle body,  
But praying to enrich his watchful soul.

—*K. Rich. III.*, Act III. vii.

That is to say, Gloucester, *put on the colour of Good*, in order to cover his deceit. Cover is Bacon's especial word for this sort of concealment. (See *Colours of Good and Evil*, *Advancement of Learning*, first English edition, 1640.) And in just this sense, it is introduced into the Play. Gloucester describing the hypocrisy of Lord Hastings, says :—

*Gloucester.*—I took him for the plainest, harmless creature  
That breathed upon this earth a Christian;  
Made him my book, wherein my soul recorded  
The history of all her secret thoughts:  
So smooth he daub'd his vice with show of virtue.

*Buckingham.*—Well, well, he was the covert'st shelter'd traitor  
That ever lived.—Act III. v. 25.

A very striking example of Bacon's Sanctuary (for protection) is afforded in this Play. Queen Elizabeth, with her son Edward, takes sanctuary:—

*Hastings.*—The Queen, your mother, and your brother York,  
Have taken sanctuary.—Act III. i. 27.

When Buckingham endeavours to persuade Cardinal Bouchier to pluck the young Prince out of his mother's arms, and to violate *sanctuary* by force, the Prelate replies:—

*Cardinal.*—God in heaven forbid  
We should infringe the holy privilege  
Of blessed *sanctuary*! Not for all this land  
Would I be guilty of so deep a sin.

Nevertheless Buckingham succeeds in persuading the Cardinal to break the Prince's sanctuary:—

Oft have I heard of *sanctuary* men;  
But *sanctuary* children ne'er till now.

—Act III. i. 40—56.

Observe the expression used by Bacon, in the passage (already cited):—“*Sanctuary* men which were commonly inordinate men and malefactors, *were wont to be nearest to priests and prelates and Holy men.*” There is reasonable cause for suspicion, that in this passage, Bacon is pointing, with latent irony, at perhaps prelates of the type of Bouchier, who were not too particular, when they drew near to men of the type of Buckingham and Gloucester, who were malefactors albeit royal ones! But, however it may be, the student will readily perceive this parallelism of text to be double.

In his Essay upon *Boldness*, Bacon writes: “It is a trivial Grammar School text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes: *What was the chief part of an orator?* He answered *Action*. What next? *Action*. What next again? *Action*. He said it, that knew it best, and had by nature no advantage, in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an *orator*, which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player; should be placed so high above those other noble parts of *Invention*, *Elocution*, and the rest” (*Essays*, 1625).

In the Plays, no character, no scene, can equal in boldness,

the second of the first Act of *Richard the Third*, where the latter is presented wooing and winning Queen Anne (whose husband he had murdered), in the very presence of the bleeding corpse! Bacon, in his Essay upon *Deformity*, says, "All deformed persons are extreme bold" (*Deformity*, 1625). Richard the Third was deformed, and surnamed *Crookback*. Bacon says of Boldness: "But nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot, those that are either shallow in judgment, or weak in courage" (*Boldness*, 1625). It seems Queen Anne was in some such way, *fascinated and bound*, by the strong will of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. The latter is made to say:—"I'll slay more gazers than the basilisk" (3 K. Henry VI., Act III. ii.). This fabulous animal was supposed to possess the power of fascination at a distance. That is to say, by the power of its eye. And Richard says, "I'll play the orator as well as Nestor" (*Ib.*). So great were his powers of acting, that King Henry the Sixth exclaims of Richard:—

What scene of death hath *Roscious* now to act?—*Ib.*, Act V. vi. 10.

So that there are to be found, connoted with the character of Richard the Third, *boldness, and oratory, with action (or acting), just as Bacon connotes them together.*

*Gloucester.*—Come, Cousin, canst thou quake, and change thy colour,  
Murder thy breath in middle of a word,  
And then begin again, and stop again,  
As if thou wert distaught and mad with terror?

*Buckingham.*—Tut, I can counterfeit the deep tragedian—

—*Rich. III.*, Act III. v.

Bacon says:—"Envy is as the sunbeams, *that beat hotter, upon a bank, or steep rising ground, than upon a level.* (*Nobility*). In the 1625 Edition of the Essays, this passage is transferred to the Essay upon *Envy*. These remarks are therefore to be sought out under *two heads*—*Nobility and Envy*. The Dukes of Norfolk, of Buckingham, and Lord Abergavenny, *envied* Wolsey's sudden advancement, and their jealousy is depicted in the first scene of the first act of *Henry the Eighth*. Wolsey's quick rise, was the "*bank, or steep rising ground,*" on which the *heat* of this envy beat so fiercely. "And for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees, *are less envied* in their rising, than those that are advanced suddenly, and *per saltum* (at a bound). Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising. For it seemeth but right done to their birth" (*Envy*, 1625). When Buckingham gives vent to his feelings against Wolsey, in the *heat, and fire*, of his jealousy fury against the "*butcher's cur,*" Norfolk counsels him:—



Stay my lord,  
And let your reason with your choler question,  
What 'tis you go about. To climb *steep hills*,  
Requires slow pace at first.—*Hen. VIII.*, Act. I. i. 129.

The "*steep hill*" is meant for Cardinal Wolsey—as an impediment, or obstacle, to be overcome, or surmounted. Fortune is seated on a hill—the vale best discovers the hill—*i.e.*, those who lack fortune, more easily appreciate, and perceive it in others. Buckingham terms Wolsey, this "*top proud fellow*," in which the idea of height is implied. Norfolk exclaims:—

Be advised,  
*Heat not a furnace for your foe so hot,*  
That it do singe yourself.—Act I. i.

Here is the *heat* that beat upon the "*steep rising ground*" of Wolsey's fortunes.

Know you not,  
The *fire* that mounts the liquor till't run o'er,  
In seeming to augment it wastes it?—*Ib.*

All this is applied to Buckingham's envy against Wolsey, and here is a still more Baconian touch for the *sunbeams themselves*:—

That such a Keech can with his very bulk,  
Take up *the rays o' the beneficial sun*,  
And keep it from the earth.—Act I. i. 55.

Bacon's mind was fond of finding, "*correspondences*," between things situated upon apparently different planes. Two opposed mirrors, reciprocally reflecting each other, suggests to him, a ball rebounding from wall to wall of a tennis court. So in the above instance, the physical fact, becomes image for the moral fact.

The Duke of Suffolk's envious curse, which at first he refuses to utter, but finally exclaims:—

Deliver'd strongly through my fixed teeth,  
*With full as many signs of deadly hate,*  
*As lean-faced\* Envy in her loathsome cave.*

\* "And it is also noted, that *Love* and *Envy*, do make a man *pine*, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual" (*Envy*, 1625). That is to say, a man in love, or in a state of envy, would have a *lean look* from the pining, or fasting, produced by the consuming passion. Speed, describing his master's love symptoms, exclaims:—

To *fast* like one that takes diet.—*Two Gent. Verona*, Act II. i.

And Julius Cæsar, comments upon the pining aspect of the envious Cassius, who was planning the conspiracy:—

It brings this reproof from the Queen :—

Enough, sweet Suffolk, thou tormentest thyself ;  
And these dread curses, *like the sun 'gainst glass*,  
Or, like an overcharged gun, recoil,  
And turn the force of them upon thyself.

—2 *K. Hen. VI.*, Act III. ii.

It will be seen that the promptings of passionate *envy*, are compared to the heat of the "*sun against glass*,"—in perfect consonance of meaning with Bacon's words, describing *Envy*, "*as the sun's beams, that beat hotter upon a bank, or steep rising ground.*" In the case of Suffolk the cause of his envy was, "*a man of noble birth*" (therefore situated upon a flat), so the latter part of the metaphor, which fitted the fortunes of Wolsey's *rise*, cannot, and was not imaged, to express the other case.

Bacon says :—"So that it is not a simple slander, but a seditious slander like to that *the Poet speaketh of—Calamosque ; armare venemo.* A venomous dart that hath both iron and poison." (A charge against I. S. for scandalizing. Part I. Page 60 ; *Resuscitatio*, 1661).

The Duke of Norfolk, in cautioning the Duke of Buckingham against Wolsey's malice, exclaims :—

You know his nature,  
That he's revengeful, and I know his sword,  
Hath a sharp edge : it's long and't may be said,  
It reaches far, and where 'twill not extend,  
*Thither he darts it.*—*Hen. VIII.*, Act 1. i. 108.

The Duke of Buckingham fell a victim to the malice, and venomous slander, of Wolsey. It was through the evidence

*Cæsar.*—Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look,  
He thinks too much : such men are dangerous.

Such men as he be never at heart's ease,  
While they behold a greater than themselves.

—*Julius Cæsar*, I. ii.

That is to say, Cæsar suspected Cassius of envy towards him. In the sketch of Julius Cæsar's character (given in the *Resuscitatio*), Bacon says of him :—"He was skilful to avoid envy" (p. 285, 1661). In the same sketch Bacon says, *Julius Cæsar was skilled in astronomy.*

But I am constant as the northern star,  
Of whose true fixed and resting quality,  
There is no fellow in the firmament,  
The skies are painted with unnumber'd sparks,  
They are all fire and every one doth shine,  
But there's but one in all doth hold his place.

—Act III. i. 60.

of his surveyor ; Sir Gilbert Peck ; his chancellor, and John Car, his confessor—with Hopkins, that Buckingham was convicted of high treason and executed. But behind them all was the master wire-puller, and intelligencer,—Wolsey ! Here is proof, in a conversation following the trial :—

*Second Gent.*—Certainly,  
The Cardinal is the end of this.

*First Gent.*—'Tis likely,  
By all conjectures : first Kildare's attainder,  
Then deputy of Ireland ; who removed,  
Earl Surrey was sent thither, and in haste too,  
Lest he should help his father.

*Second Gent.*—That trick of State,  
Was a deep envious one.—*Hen. VIII.*, Act II. i.

This exactly falls in with what Bacon says that, "*Envy is an ostracism, that eclipseth men, when they grow too great*" (*Envy*, 1625). The trick of state, suggested in sending the Earl of Surrey to Ireland, so as to get him out of the way, answers to a sort of concealed ostracism :—

*First Gent.*—This is noted,

And generally, whoever the King favours,  
The Cardinal will instantly find employment,  
And far enough from court too.—*Ib.*

From this, it is quite possible to fully understand, what Bacon means, when he observes :—"It is counted by some, a weakness in princes, to have *Favourites*. But it is, of all others, the best remedy against ambitious great ones. For when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring, lieth by the *Favourite* it is impossible, any other (*alius aliquis ex Proceribus*, any other of the nobles) should be over great" (*Ambition*, 1625). "There is use also of ambitious men, in pulling down the greatness of any subject that *overtops*. As Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus" (*Ambition*).

Just now we found, Buckingham terming Wolsey, this "*top proud fellow*," and it is writ large in the Play, how the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Earl of Surrey, pulled down Cardinal Wolsey. The latter exclaims to the former :—

Now I feel,  
Of what coarse metal ye are moulded, *envy*,  
How eagerly ye follow my disgraces,  
As if it fed ye ! And how sleek and wanton,  
Ye appear in everything may bring my ruin.

—Act III. ii. 238.

Bacon writes :—"Princes had need, in tender matters, and ticklish times, to beware what they say ; especially in those short speeches, *which fly about like darts, and are thought to be*



shot out of their secret intentions" (*Seditions and Troubles, Essays*, 1625). It was just such a short speech, that led to the murder of Richard the Second, in Pomfret Castle, at Exton's hands :—

*Exton.*—Didst thou not mark the King, what words he spake,

"Have I no friend will rid me of this living fear?"

*Serv.*—These were his very words.

*Exton.* "Have I no friend?" quoth he: he spake it twice,

And urged it twice together did he not?

*Serv.*—He did.

*Exton.*—And speaking it, he wistly look'd on me;

As who should say, "I would thou wer't the man

That would divorce this terror from my heart;"

Meaning the King at Pomfret. Come, let s go:

I am the King's friend, and will rid his foe.

—*Rich. II.*, Act V. iv.

After the deed is done, Bolingbroke exclaims :—

*Bolingbroke.*—Exton, I thank thee not; for thou hast wrought,

A deed of slander with thy fatal hand,

Upon my head and all this famous land:

*Exton.*—From your own mouth, my lord, did I this deed.

*Bolingbroke.*—They love not poison that do poison need,

Nor do I thee: though I did wish him dead,

I hate the murderer, love him murdered.

—*Rich. II.*, Act V. vi.

Notice how these last words, *connoting slander with poison*, perfectly parallel, Bacon's definition of seditious slander,—*"Calamosque; armare venemo."* "A venomous dart that hath both iron and poison."

That is to say, the evil tongue, darts forth, like a serpent, armed with poison to stab, and strike, at a distance,—secretly.

This seems to sum up the description of the evil man in the Psalms: "As soon as they are born, they go astray and speak lies. They are as venomous as the poison of the serpent" (lviii. 3, 4).

"Who imagine mischief in their hearts. They have sharpened their tongue like a serpent; adders' poison is under their lips" (cxl. 1—3).

With regard to the "*boldness of deformed persons*," I have ventured to add this text, describing Richard the Third, *from his mothers lips* :—

Thy prime of manhood, *daring, bold, and venturous.*

—*Rich. III.*, Act IV. iv. 170.

W. F. C. WIGSTON.

## ERRORS AND OMISSIONS IN PRINTING, PAGINATION, AND INDEXES.

IT has often been said, and oftener hinted both in speech and print, that the "Invisible Brotherhood" inaugurated, or at least perfected and set in thorough working order by Francis St. Alban, continues its extensive and beneficent labours at the present day. Many people doubt or ridicule this notion, but they assuredly belong to one of two classes: either they are of those who, having never examined into the question, are the more positive that it is absurd, or else they have personal reasons for checking investigation, and perhaps there is no more serviceable implement of obstruction than ridicule.

With this latter class of sceptics we have nothing to do, but amongst the former class are some who, never having observed, wondered, or examined, yet do not object to being shown the products of research collected and inspected by others. Amongst this worthy class are a few minds rarer still, who, having been *drawn to observe*, will continue to do so, and who will presently begin to make and collect their own observations. To this select company of readers we dedicate the following brief notes:—

When we dissect or anatomise the structure of books on anything directly concerning Francis "Bacon," books incorporating matter first put forward by him, or which we have come to associate with him, we are struck by a variety of odd, recurring, but inexplicable things.

First, whether the matter concern history in which he was an actor, geography, and topography—that is, countries where he travelled, places which he visited, homes where he resided, *he*, often the central figure, *is conspicuous by his absence*. Or, if the matter be the biography of other individuals with whom he was much mixed up, of great men who corresponded with him and sought his acquaintance—say, Sir Walter Raleigh, the Sidneys, Montaigne, or Gondomar, Sir Kenelm Digby, or the Herberts—his name alone, of all the great ones with whom they consorted, is studiously kept in the background. Now this might, of course, be attributed to the fact that he was indeed the "concealed poet," and that his friends were bound to aid in preserving his *incognito*. But this explanation cannot suffice when we find the same or similar omissions in books down to the present time, when we flatter ourselves that "thought is free," that we may publish what we please, and

that the march of knowledge and the researches of antiquarians and historians have cast light into the darkest corners.

Moreover, say that historians still repeat (perhaps refurbishing) the same old matter which satisfied their predecessors. Still, this does not get to the bottom of the subject; for on digging deeper we find, even in modern books, evidences of a combination (not to say conspiracy) for the purpose of at the same time "concealing and revealing" our Francis, veiling and *concealing* him from the inobservant by little clouds of confusion and intentional "errors," whilst at the same time *revealing* him by an ingenious system of *hints*. Some of these hints are easily taken, others at present elude us. We find, for instance:—

1. Dates wrong or confused, and pains taken to make them so.
2. Errors or "*errata*" seemingly preconcerted between the author and the printer.
3. Indexes garbled, incorrect, or deficient, apparently on a principle.
4. Omissions of names which should appear, and of authors quoted.
5. Omissions of facts and particulars intimately connected with the matter in hand.
6. Omissions in the index of matters treated of in the body of the works.
7. Pagination tampered with, numbers reversed, omitted, repeated, falsified.\*

The difficulty of testing the accuracy of documents on account of "the wrong dates affixed to papers, or by the absence of all dates," is a frequent source of complaint in the works of writers upon Elizabethan books. In some, although dates are given, the writer calmly counsels his readers to take no heed of them, "chronology is so very uncertain that no man can form a conclusive answer from it."† We continually find books of which Vol. II. bears an earlier date than Vol. I.

In the editions of the Bible there is one in which the Old Testament is dated two years later than the New Testament,

\* We do not here return to the "*secret marks in printing*" spots, breaks, emblems, tears, foldings treated of BACONIANA, February, 1894; of the anagrams in typography, &c, April, 1894, or of the printing of numbers, July, 1895 (Q.V.).

† See Friedmann's *Life of Anne Boleyn* i. (Pref. xxi.) and E. Budgell's *Lives of the Boyles*, p. 190, 191.



and in collections of letters such as those of Sir Tobie Matthew it is evident, *not* that the letters have become confused or mixed, but that they have been *intentionally* shuffled and dates altered or expunged.

Not only so, but at a time when the use both of the Roman and the Arabic letters and figures were perfectly well understood, dates such as these were often adopted (as a scribe at the British Museum naïvely informed the present writer) "*to conceal the date.*"

LC=500. CL0=1,000. I00=5,000. CCI00=10,000.  
I000=50,000. CCL000=100,000.

It seems as if the method were still to some degree in use, for in the "Graphic" newspaper there was, some few years ago, an article on Chatsworth by "*H. Brewer*," describing a monument to the sons of Sir W. Cavendish. (Henry died 1616 and William, first Earl of Devonshire, 1625). Brewer says: "The carver has come to grief; 1600 ought to be represented by CIO, IC, C (*sic*) instead of which it is CIO, IC, C (*sic*), which, if it meant anything at all, would be 1199.

To turn to *errata*. Isaac d'Israeli makes no bones about it, but speaks of "*errata purposely committed, that the errata may contain that which is not allowed to appear in the body of the work.*"\* This method of conveying information by *errata* existed before the time of Francis Bacon. We read of the "*Anatomy of the Mass*," printed in 1561 (*but it may have been antedated*) with 15 pages of *Errata*. But one of the most remarkable complaints is that of Edward Leigh, appended to his curious treatise on "*Religion and Learning*," of which he says that "it is no easy task to specify the chiefest *errata*; false interpunctuations there are too many; here a letter wanting; there a letter too much; a syllable too much, one letter for another; words parted where they should be joined; words joined which should be severed; words misplaced; chronological mistakes, &c., D'Israeli says that "this unfortunate folio" was printed in 1656; but it is evident that the folio is not so "unfortunate" as it appears, but crammed, like the *Shakespeare* folio and many other of Francis Bacon's works, with the ciphers upon which so many keen wits are now labouring.

Nevertheless, not all *errata* are put in with a view to cipher; some, as has been said, are *hints*; others are intended

\* *Curiosities of Literature* i. 112, &c.

to injure and disparage the work if it tend to reveal Francis St. Alban. Such errors can be introduced by the printer in spite of the author and of repeated revisions for the press, and, that such things are done, we have the strongest evidence.

With regard to indexes, there are abundant proofs that they are extensively garbled *with reference to this one concealed person, Francis St. Alban.\** It is impossible to do more than state a few cases, leaving others to examine and prove or disprove for themselves; but it may simplify matters to set down the results of the present writer's personal experiences in as few words as possible.

We conclude, then, that in every large standard library which owes its establishment or revival to Francis, there are two catalogues: one is public, and concerns matters in general—everything included in the world of learning, *excepting the private life and doings* of the great magician and master who presided over the whole. This public catalogue is usually printed. The second catalogue, on the contrary, is seldom printed. It is still in charge of the secret brotherhood who control the many different departments of this great organ for the promotion of human knowledge. By their works we know them, and by their marks they know each other.

Observe a few of the *omissions* from the Index of Spedding's *Letters and Life of Bacon*. To say the least of it, they are curious, for the matters are in the books, although the Index screens them. There are then in the Index no references to

The Device or Masque of "The					
Conference of Pleasure"	...	<i>Letters &amp; Life</i>	i.	119.	
The Device of "The Indian					
Prince"	...	..	..	..	
"Discourse in 'Praise of the	..	..	..	..	i. 386—391.
Queen" (Truth?)	...	..	..	..	i. 126.
"Device of Philautia or Self-					
Love"	...	..	..	..	i. 375.
Neither any reference to <i>Device,</i>					
<i>Interlude, Entertainment, Masks</i>					
<i>and Mummings, Revels</i> (all in)	..	..	i.	32 <sup>5</sup> (sic)--343.	
Nor of the <i>Comedy of Errors</i>	...	..	..	i.	32 <sup>5</sup> .

\* Perhaps it is only right to add our conviction that to a certain extent Sir Thomas More shares this concealment.

The *Promus of Formularies and Elegances*, unindexed under any title ... .. *Letters & Life* i. and ii. 1.

(These are referred to in the Table of Contents, as in *Works* VII. 208; they are *Works* VII. 189—211.

*Thomas Bushel*, an important but somewhat mysterious worker for Francis, is mentioned in *Letters and Life* i. 371, but omitted in the Index.

*Highnam*, the seat of Sir William Cook, and mentioned by *Montaigne* as the home of his own family, is also omitted, though to be found in *Letters and Life* ii. 369. On the same page is mentioned "*Sir Thomas Lucy*—eldest son, I suppose, of *Justice Shallow*, . . . whose daughter, *Joyce*, married Sir William Cook," cousin of the Bacon's. The Index leads to none of these particulars.

Francis expresses his desire to make a collection of *Vulgar Errors*, a business which he seems to have accomplished, publishing the book under the name of "*Sir Kenelm Digby*." He also urges the necessity of raising and ennobling the theatre, or "stage-playing," "a thing, if be made a part of discipline, of great use." He speaks strongly on this subject in the *Latin* (not the *English*) version of Book VI. of the "*Advancement*." Again, these passages are untraceable by the Index. And, lastly (for we must pass from Spedding with this bare sketch) there are scattered about throughout the *Life and Works* a very considerable number of terms and allusions which we have come to identify with Masonry and Rosicrucianism—allusions, for instance, to *Adam*, *Noah*, *the Ark*, *Babel*, *Solomon* and his *Temple*—with a multitude of emblems of which Francis explains the meaning. Ambiguous accounts of the *Philosopher's Stone* and the *Numbers of Pythagoras*, of the *Microcosm* and the *Enigmas of the Sphinx*, of the *Sun and Stars*, the *Moon* and the *Arcadians*, of the *Nile and Egypt*, the *Tigris and Euphrates*, and of allegories and metaphors, and all manner of ambiguous talk or "*Jargon*," as Francis himself describes it to be. "*Bacon's Oratio ad Filios* (the address to his Sons of Science) and his *Oratio ad philosophos Parisiensis* (his French Royal Society?) are also kept out of the Indexes to *Letters and Life* iv. 458 and *Works* iii. 496. No, we are not intended to find out our philosopher "*in buskins*," or in "*the Cothurnos of Tragedy*." For a while he meant to suppress himself, and to make the world, sheep-like, follow his lead, supposing that learning was everywhere—"in the air," as the foolish saying is, and that



it was the learning of a learned age, not the genius of one man which was creating this stir. His friends were not to forget him, but the vain and shallow multitude were to be flattered with the notion that they formed part of a highly intellectual and advancing community, that "galaxies of wits" and cohorts of "giant minds" swarmed in all directions. See then the strange omissions on the part of "Bacon" himself. He desired to elevate the theatre, and mourns its degradation, speaking as though it were at the very lowest ebb. *He omits to mention Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Marlow, Middleton, or any of the host of minor dramatists here or abroad.* A good Spanish scholar, he does not hint at *Calderon Lope de Vega or Quevado*. Perfect in French and Italian, he says not a word of any of the new school of dramatists forming in those countries.

He advocates "*Foundations*," both for education and for refuge in age and poverty. He does not mention Dulwich, although he was present at the inauguration of that great institution.

He is strong on the subject of libraries, and no doubt had much to do with the revival of some of our most important "foundations" of this kind. Where is his own library? Was such a methodical man as he without a catalogue of his own books? We might spend many pages in asking questions such as these. Let others now observe and note for themselves, whilst they bear ever in mind that our Francis was no "grudging" or "dashing man, but ever a countenancer and fosterer of other men's good parts." Ever ready to lend a hand to struggling authors, and to help each to appear wiser and brighter than by nature he was. This was one of the strong traits which made his personality so attractive to all who had the happiness to associate with him. Yet, seek through the Indexes to his works, and see how much you can find concerning his learned and often very intimate friends, collaborators, and devoted admirers—how much of *Edward Allcyn* (founder of Dulwich College), *Elias Ashmole* (the antiquary, "alchemist," and founder of the Ashmolean Museum), Sir Thomas Browne (Author of the "*Religio Medici*"), Sir Kenelm Digby, Descartes, Galileo, Gilbert, Harvey, Napier and Briggs, Sir Walter Raleigh, Pietro Sarpi and Fulgentius, and many more "philosophers and theologians," contemporaries and often correspondents of Francis St. Alban. Are not such omissions inexplicable excepting upon the assumption that they were intentional, and part of a system?

And as Bacon omits the names of nearly every great writer of his time, so they with one consent omit to mention *him*, or speak of him so casually as to excite no interest. An examination of the writings of any of the men above mentioned will satisfy most minds on this point; but the omission of references is not limited to printed books. The Indexes of the MS. collections will be found equally "imperfect" and with a great method in their imperfections. Not only letters and separate documents often uncatalogued, but whole collections, as the *Promus* and "*Bagford's Collection*" of 108 vols., are (or were) excluded from the printed catalogues, so as only to be attainable by those possessed of the proper pass-word, or who have found a clue of their own. Never despair of finding a document which you have reason to believe is extant; but when looking through the catalogues, *observe hints*.

To take an instance from the *Tenison MSS.* (Lambeth Palace). Here in vol. xv. 661 is *fol.* 175. In this folio are 184 documents, of which only 39 are catalogued. No. 174 is noted as being of special interest; but it is followed by 176. We guess therefore (and the guess proves true) that No. 174 is of no special interest, but that No. 175 will be worth looking at. This folio is found to consist of a number of very poor verses in French, addressed to Mons. Antoine Bacon, and describing him as "*the flower of Englishmen, honour of the Nine Muses, greater than the ancients, as well known beyond the seas as in his own island, a swan singing on the Thames. To do him justice, a poet must be able to write as he does, and as many works. He mingles heaven and earth. He is the eye of wisdom, fit to guide the helm of the State.*" In short, "Antoine" is here praised in the terms which have been applied to Francis. Did they write "in consorte," or was Anthony only one of the many masks? We do not know; but this we do know, the compilers of that catalogue did not intend those verses about "Antoine" and his poetry to be either prominently *brought forward* or *lost*, and this is only one of many instances registered in our note-books.

A few words to draw attention to the page numbers of Baconian books. The "errors" here consist chiefly of—(1) Inversions; (2) Omissions; (3) Repetitions; (4) Displacements. Few of our particularly loved books are without one or other of these signs. Thus—

Spedding's *Letters and Life*, vol. i., has p. 325 printed 32<sup>5</sup>.

" " " " ii. " p. 369 " 309.

Spedding's *Letters and Life*, vol. iii., has p. 218 printed 18.

„ „ „ „ iv. „ p. 122 „ 212.

„ „ „ „ v. „ p. 103 „ 10<sup>3</sup>.

In the *Curiosities of Literature*, vol. i., p. 95 is followed by a blank page, then 79 for 97, and vol. iii., p. 274, is followed by 257 for 275.

In *Camden's Remaines* (pub. J. Russell Smith, 1870) p. 64 is followed by 56 for 65.

In *Sidney's Arcadia and Defence of Poesie* (1662) pp. 507 and 547 are both printed 5, with a very faint 7, and 562 is 5 with part of a very faint 3. But in this and earlier books the mis-paginations are too numerous to speak of, and the *Shakespeare folio* is a curiosity in "*Errata*."

When we come to think of it, the "authors" of Bacon's time speak surprisingly little of each other *as authors*. Bysshe, a writer about poets, omits both *Spenser* and *Shakespeare*. "Massinger was unknown." Webster is so "shadowy" as to be practically unknown. There is no allusion in Spedding's voluminous "Life" and "Works" of Bacon to the intimacy which existed between the latter and Montaigne. Bayle, with eleven editions of his Dictionary of Critical Biographies, does not so much as mention *Montaigne*. He is equally ignored by Chalmers; and all that Hepworth Dixon has to say of this intimate friend and patron of Anthony (and who actually visited Francis in England) is that Anthony "cracked jokes with him," and that he (Anthony) was "the common friend of Beza and Montaigne."

Who that has observed such things (and they meet us at every turn) but must perceive there is no comedy of errors, but a plan well designed to conceal as well as to reveal the great inventor and the mechanism of the wondrous engine which he constructed, and of which he was the motive power. We ask ourselves how long, like children, are we to be kept playing at "Hoodman blind?" or at what epoch, under what circumstances, is it ordained by existing authorities that the present state of delusion and illusion shall be terminated?

Francis St. Alban evidently hoped and intended that, at the end of 100 years from the inauguration of his fraternity, he would "pace forth" and "let Time's news be known." But still we wait—for what? and for how long?

P. R. Y.



CANONBURY AND CROSBY HALL;  
SIR THOMAS MORE AND LORD VERULAM.

A FEW more particulars concerning Canonbury Tower may be acceptable to those who read and digested the short account of that interesting place, printed in *BACONIANA*, April, 1900.

First, it appears clear that "Canonbury Tower" was not the same building as "Queen Elizabeth's Lodge." The tower (Thomas Cromwell wrote in 1535, and the description holds good) was of brick, with turret atop, built probably for an observatory. It was sixty feet high and about seventeen feet square, and included twenty-three various apartments arranged in seven stories, connected by an oaken staircase. The uppermost room is cut off by a heavy door of panelled oak (an inner door and partition of painted deal are evidently recent innovations); at the top is a lead flat whence a fine view is obtained of the panorama which embraces London, the hills of Hampstead and Highgate, and on the opposite side, the river as far as Gravesend.

The Latin verses recorded to have been written on the wall by a poet in the time of Charles I. were these:—

"Mors tua, mors Christi, trans mundi, Gloria Coeli,  
Et dolor Inferni, sint meditanda tibi."

Over one of the principal fire-places (of oak elaborately wrought with renaissance emblems) is carved *a pair of bellows*; this is particularly noticed by the historian. These bellows, which are still to be seen, are said to be a secret sign that there is a hiding-place or way of escape through the fire-place or chimney. In fact a small recess, now used as a cupboard, is to be seen immediately at the back of the chimney. We are not in a position to *prove* that this secret way connected with the underground passages or "subterrannies" alluded to in the former Paper, but the thing seems possible and should be investigated. Our present aim is to *suggest* a connection between Canonbury Tower and Crosby Hall—a place which from various circumstances has lately become of enhanced importance in the eyes of *BACONIAN* researchers.

The Manor of Canonbury derived its name from a mansion of the Prior of the Canons of St. Bartholomew's, which was given to the Priory by Ralph de Berners soon after the Con-

quest. It became, as we have seen, the property of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The Priory at Clerkenwell was very wealthy and magnificent, and was founded by Lord Jordan Briset in the reign of Henry I. At the dissolution of the monasteries, Henry VIII. gave the Priory to John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, but used the Church and Priory as a store-house for his nets and other hunting appliances. Many historical scenes were enacted at this Priory, which was defaced by Protector Somerset, but partly restored by Mary.

In the reign of Elizabeth, Sir Henry Tylney, "the Queen's Master of the Revels, resided at St. John's with all his tailors, embroiderers, painters, and carpenters, and all artificers required to arrange Court Plays and Masques. In this reign Master Tylney licensed all Plays, regulated the stage for thirty-one years, and passed no less than thirty of Shakespeare's dramas, commencing with *Henry VI.* and ending with *Anthony and Cleopatra.*"

"He might have told us something about the *Great Unknown*," adds the writer, "*but he died in 1610 and left no diary or auto-biography.* The Court Revels were all rehearsed in the Great Hall at St. John's. In 1612, James I. gave the Priory to Lord Aubigny, and the Revels office was removed to St. Peter's Hill. The house afterwards came into the possession of Sir William Cecil, grandson of the famous Lord Treasurer Burleigh."

When we come to a minute description of the buildings and architecture of "that fine specimen of Sir Thomas Docwra's perpendicular, St. John's Gate," we learn that beneath it were "*two distinct passages.*" The story, as usual, stops at the interesting point, and in no way enlightens us as to whither these passages led, or what was their use. It needs, however, no stretch of imagination to suppose that they led on the one hand to Canonbury Tower, and that they were originally constructed by the Knights of St. John who possessed both of these places. We may also take a leaf from "Shakesperean" authors and *suppose* that the dramatist living at Canonbury may (*if secrecy and concealment were the mark!*) have found this private means of communication with his property-men and manager or master of the Revels highly convenient.

The tradition previously alluded to that there was a subterranean communication from Canonbury Tower to the Priory of St. Bartholomew's at Smithfield, receives confirmation by the discovery of the "two distinct passages" from St. John's Gate. The same Prior, Bolton, who carved a

rebus of his name on Canonbury Tower, was also Canon of, and a great benefactor to, his two parishes of Great and Little St. Bartholomew.

*That same Sir John Spencer from whom Sir Francis "Bacon" received his lease of Canonbury Manor, purchased in 1594 from the sons of Alderman Bond "the most interesting of old city mansions," Crosby Hall, in the parish of St. Helen's.* Here again had once been a splendid old Priory, including a monastery (as Mr. Hugo speaks of "the *Fraty*") and a nunnery. From the Prioress of St. Helen's, Sir John Crosby had rented the ground to build himself the house of stone and timber, "very large and beautiful and the highest at that time in London." There is something odd about Sir John Crosby, for his annalist records that he *died* in 1475, and that *his widow* in 1470 sold the new city mansion to that dark and wily intriguer, Richard, Duke of Gloucester. "There," says Sir Thomas More, "he lodged himself, and little by little all folks drew unto him, so that the Protector's Court was crowded and King Henry's left desolate."\* After Richard's departure to Westminster in 1483, he was succeeded at Crosby Hall by two Lord Mayors, Sir Bartholomew Reed and Sir John Rest; but in 1516, "there came a distinguished tenant—a man fit to stock it with wisdom for ever and to purge it of the stain of Richard's crimes."

"Between 1516 and 1523," says the Rev. Thomas Hugo, "Crosby Hall was inhabited by the great Sir Thomas More—afterwards Lord Chancellor of England." This fact, *that Sir Thomas More rented and lived at Crosby Hall for nine important years of his life, is ignored or suppressed by his biographers, contemporaries, and even relatives, down to the present day.* It is a case precisely corresponding to the suppression of the twin fact concerning Francis "Bacon," and his leasing of Canonbury Tower, and further investigation seems to reveal a similar explanation in both cases. Crosby Hall was, we think, the scene of the very first attempt to form a Society for the Advancement of Learning and the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which was perfected, methodised, and made permanent, by the mysterious "poet" tenant of Canonbury Tower.

The public life and personality of Sir Thomas More have been too often written to need repetition. In the pages of his many biographers we see him in the midst of his family circle, reading, talking, and discussing with them every sub-

\* See *Rich. III.*, i. 2 and 3, and *ib. iii.* 1.



ject of interest, whether in religion\* or philosophy, literature or science. We know of his devotion to his faith and his country, and of his friendship with Erasmus and other great spirits of the time. At Chelsea he built a beautiful house, where Erasmus visited him, and thus described his domestic life :—

“ There he converses with his wife, his son, his daughter-in-law, his three daughters and their husbands, with eleven grand-children. There is not any man living so affectionate as he, and he loveth his old wife as if she were a young maid. You would say there was in that house Plato’s Academy ; but I do his house an injury in comparing it to Plato’s Academy, where there were only disputations of numbers and geometrical figures, and sometimes of moral virtues. I should rather call his house a School or University of Christian Religion, for though there is none therein but readeth or studieth the liberal sciences, their special care is piety and virtue ; there is no quarrelling or intemperate words heard ; none seen idle ; that worthy gentleman doth not govern proud and lofty words, but well-timed and courteous benevolence ; everybody performeth his duty, yet there is always alacrity ; neither is sober mirth anything wanting.”

It does not appear whether, when Sir Thomas More took Crosby Hall, he gave up the house at Chelsea, but it seems most likely that the family debating society grew to larger proportions than could be comfortably received at a private dwelling, and that on this account Crosby Hall was adopted for the reception of guests. At all events we read that More’s house became the resort of all who were conspicuous for learning and taste ; they came gladly to partake of “ the hospitality of his table.”

The delight of More’s conversation and the comparison of his house to Plato’s Academy, vividly recall the very parallel remarks of Dr. Rawley on the other great personage who is *his* peculiar subject. “ His meals were reflections of the ear as well as of the stomach, like the *Noctes Atticæ*, or *Convivia Deipno-sophistarum*, wherein a man might be refreshed in his mind and understanding no less than in his body.” And when we read of Sir Thomas More at the end of the meal or of the reading, trying to draw out the intelligence of his

\* In his religious views Sir Thomas More was an ardent Roman Catholic, but so tolerant and large minded as to lead us to think that his aim like that of Francis Bacon was to draw together the opposed ends of religion, and to make Christian faith and worship truly *Catholic* or *Universal*.

family by asking them questions, encouraging them to reply and express their own opinions, we cannot but think of his great successor—"ever a countenancer and fosterer of other men's parts," who would not "appropriate the speech to himself, but would delight to leave others free to take their turn, and would draw them on and allure them" to do so to the best advantage. Does it not seem as though Francis "Bacon" set before himself the "model" of Sir Thomas More? May it not be that Sir Thomas More laid the foundation-stone of that house of wisdom which it was the delightful though laborious task of the great Francis St. Alban to finish from the base to the topmost pinnacle?

The ultimate fate of Canonbury Tower and Crosby Hall have been in some respects similar. Of the former we read that "*after the Spencers*, the Lord-keeper Coventry rented this house." This is true only in a sense for, as we know, *after the Spencers* (or Spensers) *Sir Francis Bacon rented it and lived there*, having stipulated in his lease that if he died before the expiration of the forty years, the lease should be passed on to Lord Coventry, in trust for the *Prince of Wales*. Prince Henry died, but Charles, Prince of Wales, did succeed to Canonbury, and there may perhaps have been some traditional right of inheritance by "*Princes of Wales*;" for the Arms of Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII. are carved over a neighbouring doorway (formerly part of the same building). We are beginning to have strong suspicions about another and *unacknowledged* Prince—but Prince Henry died who should have received Canonbury after Francis Bacon's death. Prince Charles *did* receive it, and a portrait of the present Prince of Wales hangs (or was hanging in May, 1900) in the entrance of Canonbury Tower. The place seems always to have been a resort, more or less, for literary men, for poets down to Oliver Goldsmith, for editors such as Chambers of the celebrated Cyclopædia, and for printers and publishers as Woodfall, who printed "*Junius*," and some of the firm of Knapton and Horsfield who published for Pope. At the present time the mantle or veil of literature still descends upon the quaint old place, now poorly maintained as a club frequented by literary men, many of them Masons, as is evidenced by the portraits of the Prince of Wales and two others in full Masonic dress.

As to Crosby Hall, its history is briefly this. Sir Thomas More sold it in 1523 to his "dear friend," Antonio Bonvici (of him we would gladly know more). After some vicissitudes Bonvici bought the whole property from the King and be-

queathed it to Germaine Cyoll, who had married a cousin of Sir Thomas Gresham, whose house faced Crosby Hall. In 1566 Alderman Bond bought the house, which in 1594 was again sold to Sir John Spenser. During his year of office as Lord Mayor, a Masque was here performed by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn ("*Bacon's*" Inn) and the Temple, in the presence of Queen Elizabeth. *The author of the Masque is not mentioned.* When Spencer left Crosby House, it was for a time tenanted by the Dowager Countess of Pembroke, "Sydney's sister, Pembroke's mother," immortalised says an authority, "*by Ben Jonson's epitaph.*" Although its former radiance became sadly dimmed, yet the building retains some halo of literary glory, for we find that "from 1842 to 1860, Crosby Hall was occupied by a literary and scientific institute." How are the mighty fallen! The "refection of the mind" is now exchanged that of "the stomach," and Crosby Hall is converted into a restaurant. But even now there are reminders of its former high estate in the paintings, including portraits of Sir Thomas More and "*Shakespeare,*" which adorn the walls. Would that Canonbury Tower could be as handsomely dealt with!

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## GENERAL MEETING OF THE BACON SOCIETY.

A GENERAL MEETING of the Bacon Society was held at 22, Albemarle-street, on Friday, June 22nd, when the accounts for the year were read and passed, and the officers for the ensuing year were elected.

A paper was then read by Mr. Fleming Fulcher, on "The Portraits of Bacon and Shakespeare." The lecture was illustrated by fifty-six lantern slides which exhibited first, a series of portraits of Francis Bacon from childhood and young manhood until middle age and old age, photographed from the celebrated portraits of Hilyard, Van Somers, Hoebraken, De Passe, and others, whose engravings are found in the best collections, and also from the monumental statue and from the medal made for the Royal Institution. Having run through some twenty of these pictures, we were then shown four or five views of the so-called Kesselstadt "*Death Mask of Shakespeare*" which, in 1860, was offered to the Trustees of the British Museum. After eighteen months' consideration the mask was rejected by them as in no way resembling the received authentic portraits of the Stratford hero. This mask



is now being foisted upon the public, in photographs sold at Stratford-on-Avon, as the "*Death Mask of Shakespeare!*" Twenty or more portraits were then shown of Wm. Shaksper, beginning with the ugly effigy which Shakespeareans describe as "unintellectual," "coarse," and "bloated," and the oil painting (at the Stratford-on-Avon Cottage) for which a very large sum was paid, and which is, like the effigy, considered absolutely authentic. Of this the distinguished Shakespearean, Dr. Furnival, says "The beery, loose-looking picture in the so-called 'Birthplace' is a special abomination to me." Then, beginning with the caricature known as "Droeshout's Portrait" (which "out-does the life" as the verses declare) the Shakespeare portraits were shown with every possible or impossible variation; faces fat or thin, round or hatchet-shaped; hair dark or flaxen; head bald or with a large curl on the top; with flowing locks or short; with moustache curling upwards, or downwards; beard or no beard; flat collar, ruff, or the Charles I. lace collar, not introduced until eight years after the death of the supposed poet.

All these differences were shown to be made in order to make the picture accord with certain recognisable particulars in the head of Francis St. Alban, as represented in his best portraits and in the medals. "The Duke of Devonshire's Bust" at the Garrick is a very perfect representation of Francis St. Alban, and of this a full account was given in a short paper on this subject of "Disguised Portraits" in the first number of *BACONIANA* (New Series) May 1893, page 15.

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## REVIEWS.

ON reading through Mr. Donnelly's new book,\* one sees why it is that his critics have been able to find fault with him, with such apparent truth. His arguments are, on the whole, clear, concise and well connected, and the conclusions at which he arrives are generally sound. But the one thing which greatly mars his book is its inaccuracy in trivial details. There are a number of such mistakes in it, which, although evidently accidental, will afford to the incredulous ample cause for criticism.

But to pass on to the subject matter. Mr. Donnelly shows clearly that there is every reason to believe that the original

\* "*The Cipher in the Plays and on the Tombstone,*" by Ignatius Donnelly, published by The Verulam Publishing Company, Minneapolis, Minn.



inscription on Shakespeare's tomb contained a bi-literal cipher such as Bacon describes in the "De Augmentis." He then proceeds to decipher what he believes to be the internal message contained in the lettering of the inscription—namely, that "Francis Bacon wrote the Green, Marlowe, and Shakespeare Playes."

An expert decipherer would possibly consider his method conclusive and correct; but to the ordinary mind it is not absolutely convincing, because there are no hard and fast rules to be followed, much being left to the ingenuity of the decipherer.

He is also of opinion that the Shakespeare "Sonnets" and the "Phoenix and the Turtle" contain a word cipher, but he is satisfied with giving quotations to illustrate his points, without going into the matter minutely.

Lastly, he goes most minutely into the question of an arithmetical word cipher in the Shakespeare Plays. The arithmetic entailed is very simple, but here, again, absence of hard and fast rules is a regrettable feature, to the lay mind. But in this connection it should be noticed that it would have been extremely hard to work such a cipher into the Plays except in the actual printing of the letters. Besides which, such a cipher with absolutely strict rules, would have been very easy to decipher.

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We have received "Shaksper not Shakespeare," by William H. Edwards.\* We hope to take further notice of this very interesting book in a future number.

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## STENOGRAPHY.

I CAN supplement the article on Stenography in the January number of BACONIANA. Amongst my books of Bacon's time is a folio, "The generall Historie of the magnificent State of Venice from the first foundation thereof untill this present. Collected by Thomas de Fougasses, Gentleman of Avignon, out of all Authors, both Ancient and Moderne, that have written of that subject. Englished by W. Shute, Gent. London: Printed by G. Eld, and W. Stansby, 1611." The work is one of the mysterious publications of the period with indications that they are not exactly what they purport to be. It is dedicated to William, Earle of Pembroke, and Philip, Earle of Montgomerie. Of the contents of this Volume, more perhaps hereafter, but, for the present, I wish only to call attention to the

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\* "Shaksper not Shakespeare," by William H. Edwards, published by the Robert Clarke Company, Cincinnati, U.S.A.

binding of my copy. Some printed paper, probably once covered by a blank page pasted on the front board, is a waste sheet of a lecture or sermon preached in the "Blackfriars" and "taken by Characterie." A fragment of "The Preface" happens to be on this waste sheet, and begins thus, "It hath beene (Christian reader) till of late, much wished, that there were an ordinarie way of swift writing, whereby sermons and lectures of godly preachers might be preserved for the use of the absent and posteritie hereafter. That whereas no more remaineth after the hower passed than so much as the frailtie of memory carrieth away : by the benefite of speedy writing, the whole body of the lecture and sermon might be registered. This desire of many, some have lately endeavoured to satisfie by an Art called Characterié : which I having learned, have put in practise in writing sermons thereby to preserve (as it were) the life of much memorable doctrine, that would otherwise be buried in forgetfulness." This comes down to the foot of the sheet, but on another part of it is the end of the Preface, signed, "Thy well wisher, A. S." Parts of the sermon occupy the rest of the page, and at the bottom is,

"Printed at London by V. S. for  
and to be sold at the sign  
at Poules Church."

The missing words were cut off in fitting the sheet to the folio. V. S. was doubtless Valentine Sims, who printed in 1597 the Quarto of *Richard II.*, and in 1600 the Quarto of *Much Ado About Nothing*, the Quarto of the second part of *Henry IV.*, and the Quarto of the second part of *Henry VI.*,

The inference I suggest, is that the printer of sermons taken down in shorthand, also printed Plays which may have been taken down in shorthand.

J. R., of Grays Inn.